



TRANSACTIONS
OF THE
ROYAL HISTORICAL SOCIETY

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ROYAL HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

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PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS

BY THE RIGHT HONBLE. SIR MOUNTSTUART E. GRANT DUFF,
G.C.S.I., President

TWO years ago, I had the honour to attempt, in addressing you, to answer the question how far Thucydides was of value to the modern statesman. I have recently been re-reading Herodotus, not precisely with a view to answer the same question in reference to him, but still not without keeping it, to some extent, before my mind. I purpose accordingly, this afternoon, to lay before you some of the considerations which have occurred to me with regard to his famous Enquiries ; for ‘Enquiries’ or ‘Researches,’ rather than Histories, ought perhaps to be the English rendering of the title of his famous book.

First then it has struck me, that, while the fullest justice is done to his powers as a narrator, too little account is taken of the comments on life and affairs which are scattered through his pages.

Two accusations are frequently brought against him, which tend more or less to neutralize each other. One set of critics says that he devotes too much attention to anecdotes or striking stories, and another that he allows his views of events to be too much coloured by his philosophy. The first set of critics is certainly in so far right, that Herodotus belongs essentially to the Panoramic historians, to those who

are more occupied with watching the ever-moving picture of events, than with examining into the springs of those events. No one would have said of him as Matthew Arnold did of Goethe :—

And he was happy, if to know
Causes of things, and, far below
His feet, to see the lurid flow
Of Terror and insane distress
And headlong Fate be happiness.

On the contrary, he was not a little puzzled to discern the ‘causes of things,’ and by no means looked down from an altitude of speculation upon headlong fate. Oftener than not he took the advice of the great German poet, whom I have just named, and said to himself: ‘Why, when, and where? the Gods remain silent! do thou keep thyself to the “because” and ask not “wherefore”’ Still, again and again, ‘the riddle of this painful earth’ forced itself upon him, and he had to form some sort of theory about it. What distinguishes him most from his immediate successor is, that while the mind of Thucydides was essentially secular, that of Herodotus was as essentially religious. He has not, I think, been better characterized than he was by Faber, who wrote :

He was a mild old man, and cherished much
The weight dark Egypt on his spirit laid ;
And with a sinuous eloquence would touch
For ever at that haven of the dead.

Those who are prepared roundly to assert that Thucydides is a more philosophical historian than Herodotus, ought to have settled, in their own minds, the world-old debate as to how far and in what way a power higher than that of man interferes or does not interfere in human affairs ; for that is after all the real distinction between the two. A belief in an overruling Providence is the root-idea of the elder writer, although he is very far indeed from over-looking nearer and more obvious ‘causes of things.’

Nothing would be easier than to quote more passages from his writings than you have time to listen to in illustra-

tion of this remark. We will turn, for example, to book ix. chapter c., where, speaking of the rumour which ran through the Greek host at Mycale about the victory at Plataea, he says :—

‘ Many things prove to me, that the Gods take part in the affairs of man.’

Or again, look at book vii. chapter cxxxvii., in which he speaks of the doom that fell, or was supposed to have fallen, on the descendants of the men who devoted themselves as an atonement to Xerxes for the murder of the heralds of Darius at Sparta :

‘ In my judgment this was a case wherein the hand of Heaven was most plainly manifested.’

One of the forms in which Herodotus conceived the Gods, or the abstraction which he called the ‘ divine,’ and which answers very closely to our word Providence most frequently to become manifest was in their or its interfering to ‘ put down the mighty from their seats.’ It may be said, indeed, that this is the leading thought of the whole of his composition. The excess of human self-assertion, passing at times into sheer insanity, is represented by Xerxes, while the much divided, treacherous, sometimes heroic, but often curiously base tribes of Greece, were the instrument in the hands of Heaven for overthrowing the Colossus. From end to end of the narrative, alike from the five books which, so to speak, form its grand portico, and from the four which form the main-building, we might cull examples.

In the twenty-third chapter of the first book, for instance, we have the famous phrase attributed to Solon : ‘ Oh Croesus, you address your questions about human affairs to me, who know that the Divine Principle is ever envious and given to excite trouble.’ It seems now generally believed that no such conversation, as that which is described in this memorable passage, could have taken place between the great Athenian and the Lydian king. Very possibly the words attributed to Solon may have fallen from some other Greek, just as we hear every day phrases connected with the name of Talleyrand,

with which he had nothing in the world to do. It is of very little importance, however, whether the words were ever spoken ; what is important is that they obviously express the idea entertained by Herodotus himself, of the operation of that strange force in the world, which seems to rejoice in making mock of human prosperity. Dryden embodies the same idea in his paraphrase of the twenty-ninth ode of the third book of Horace :

Fortune, that with malicious joy
Does man her slave oppress,
Proud of her office to destroy,
Is seldom pleased to bless.
Still various and inconstant still,
But with an inclination to be ill,
Promotes, degrades, delights in strife
And makes a lottery of life.

Turn to book vii. chapter x. (§ 4) and we find just the same thought in the speech of Artabanus :

‘ Think then no more of incurring so great a danger, when no need presses, but follow the advice I tender. Break up this meeting, and when thou hast well considered the matter with thyself, and settled what thou wilt do, declare to us thy resolve. I know not of aught in the world that so profits a man, as taking good counsel with himself ; for even if things fall out against one’s hopes, still one has counselled well, though fortune has made the counsel of none effect ; whereas, if a man counsels ill, and luck follows, he has gotten a wind-fall, but his counsel is none the less silly. Seest thou how God with his lightning smites always the bigger animals, and will not suffer them to wax insolent, while those of a lesser bulk chafe him not ? How likewise his bolts fall ever on the highest houses and tallest trees ? So plainly does He love to bring down everything that exalts itself. Thus oftentimes a mighty host is discomfited by a few men, when God in his jealousy sends fear or storm from heaven, and they perish in a way unworthy of them. For God allows no one to have high thoughts but Himself.’

Horace was as little like Herodotus as he well could be, yet the same idea was always recurring to his mind. There is a sentence in the passage I have just quoted, which might almost have suggested his

Saepius ventis agitatur ingens
Pinus et celsae graviore casu
Decidunt turres feriuntque summos
Fulmina montes.

That over and above the religious views which he shared with many in antiquity and with the whole Christian world of to-day, Herodotus had a certain amount of *Aberglaube*, extra-belief or superstition, is obvious enough :

He feared the Gods and heroes, and spake low
That echo might not hear in her light room.

We see however, every day, that no inconsiderable amount of superstition is compatible with very shrewd judgment and a great deal of ability in the conduct of affairs.

More surprising to me than the superstition of Herodotus are the passages which show the conflict in his mind between rationalism and supernaturalism—the remarks, for example, of Artabanus to Xerxes about his dream, in book vii. chapter xvi., which are evidently an expression of the historian's own views, put into the mouth of the Persian :

‘But such things, my son, have of a truth nothing divine in them. The dreams that wander to and fro among mankind, I will tell thee of what nature they are,—I, who have seen so many more years than thou.—Whatever a man has been thinking of during the day, is wont to hover round him in the visions of his dreams at night.’

The reflections about the Plain of Thessaly in book vii. chapter cxxix., and the manner in which the lake which Herodotus believed to have covered it, found its way to the sea are another case in point : ‘The Thessalians tell us that the Gorge through which the Water escapes was caused by Neptune ; and this is likely enough ; at least any man who believes that

Neptune causes earthquakes, and that chasms so produced are his handiwork, would say, upon seeing this rent, that Neptune did it. For it plainly appeared to me that the hills had been torn asunder by an earthquake.'

Another illustration is the curiously balanced judgment about the doings of Boreas in reference to the Persian fleet in book vii. chapter clxxxix. : 'Whether it was owing to this that Boreas fell with violence on the barbarians at their anchorage I cannot say; but the Athenians declare that they had received aid from Boreas before, and that it was he who now caused all these disasters.'

The following passage shows that, even when treating of religious matters, he sometimes allowed himself to reason in a very secular and common-sense way. In book ii. chapter lv. we read: 'This is what I heard from the priests at Thebes; at Dodona however, the women who deliver the oracles relate the matter as follows: "Two black doves flew away from Egyptian Thebes, and while one directed its flight to Libya, the other came to them. She alighted on an oak, and sitting there began to speak with a human voice, and told them that on the spot where she was, there should henceforth be an oracle of Jove. They understood the announcement to be from heaven, so they set to work at once and erected the shrine. The dove which flew to Libya bade the Libyans establish there the oracle of Ammon." This likewise is an oracle of Jupiter. The persons from whom I received these particulars were three priestesses of the Dodonaeans, and what was said was confirmed by the other Dodonaeans who dwell around the temple.'

'My own opinion of these matters is as follows:—'I think that, if it be true that the Phoenicians carried off the holy women and sold them for slaves, the one into Libya and the other into Greece, or Pelasgia (as it was then called), this last must have been sold to the Thesprotians. Afterwards, while undergoing servitude in those parts, she built, under a real oak, a temple to Jupiter, her thoughts in her new abode reverting—as it was likely they would do, if she had

been an attendant in a temple of Jupiter at Thebes—to that particular god. Then, having acquired a knowledge of the Greek tongue, she set up an oracle. She also mentioned that her sister had been sold for a slave in Libya by the same persons as herself.'

When he wrote this passage, Herodotus had arrived at the same point of relative enlightenment as a peasant with whom I fell in five and forty years ago in the West of France. I was sheltering myself from a shower under one of the great stones of Carnac in Brittany, when a venerable figure in a goat-skin mantle came up, and entered into conversation with me. He asked me what I thought about the great stones and I gave some answer, good or bad. He replied, 'No, the true account of them is this.—There once lived in Rome a great king whose name was Cæsar and a great Pope whose name was St. Cornelius. Now Cæsar and St. Cornelius quarrelled, and St. Cornelius fled before Cæsar till he came here to the shores of the sea ; then he turned round and an arrangement was made between the contending parties, in memory of which a stone was put up to mark the place where each of the soldiers of Cæsar had stood.'

Thus one caught the grand old legend of the petrified army on the heath of the Morbihan, in the same condition as was the legend of the doves in the mind of the father of history.

It is not germane to my present subject, but I may mention in passing, that, when I asked my Breton friend, Who put up the stones ? he replied, 'Le Gouvernement ;' and when I said, with an accent of interrogation, 'Le Gouvernement ?' he replied 'Oui, le Gouvernement, les riches, les gens qui ont bien à manger.'

Sometimes, after indulging his rationalistic vein, Herodotus adds a saving clause ; thus in book ii. chapter xlvi. we have : 'And again, how would it have been possible for Hercules alone, and, as they confess, a mere mortal, to destroy so many thousands ? In saying thus much concerning these matters, may I incur no displeasure either of god or hero !'

I recalled, when I was reading this passage the other day, a similar case of 'hedging.' I possess a coin or medal, struck by some Indian devotee to be presented at the shrine of the Consort of Shiva, but the offerer, determined to lose no chance, had inscribed upon it, not only Hindu emblems, but also the Mahomedan confession of faith. Such things have, if all tales be true, not been quite unknown in our own time and country.

We smile at the *extra belief* of Herodotus, and when one is trying to support the opinion that his speculations about men and things have been a little too much thrown into the shade by his charm as a narrator, it is only fair to admit that a great deal of superstition clung about his mind. After all, however, we may be grateful to him even for his extra belief, for without it he would not have reflected nearly so well the age in which his lot was cast.

Very sensible are the observations of Canon Rawlinson :

'There is one other point of view, in which the credulity of Herodotus with respect to oracles, prodigies, &c., requires to be considered, before we absolutely pronounce it a very serious defect in him as an historian. Granting that it detracts somewhat from his value as an authentic narrator of facts, has it not a compensatory advantage in placing him more on a level with the mass of his countrymen, in enabling him to understand and portray them better, and inducing him to put more fully upon record a whole class of motives and feelings, which did, in point of fact, largely influence their conduct? Would the cold scepticism of Thucydides have given us a truer picture of the spirit in which the Persian attacks were met,—the hopes that stimulated, and the belief that sustained a resistance almost without a parallel, which may have been mere patriotism in the leaders, but in the mass was certainly to a great extent the fruit of religious enthusiasm? Is it not a fact, that the Greeks of the age immediately preceding Herodotus were greatly influenced by oracles, omens, prodigies, and the like; and are we not able to understand them better from the sympathising

pages of a writer who participated in the general sentiment, than from the disdainful remarks of one, who, from the height of his philosophical rationalism, looks down with a calm contempt upon the weakness and credulity of the multitude? At any rate, is it not a happy chance, which has given us, in the persons of the two earliest and most eminent of Greek historians, the two opposite phases of the Greek mind, religiousness bordering upon superstition, and shrewd practical sense verging towards scepticism? Without the corrective, to be derived from the work of Herodotus, ordinary students would have formed a very imperfect notion of the real state of opinion among the Greeks on religious matters, and many passages of their history would have been utterly unintelligible. It seems therefore not too much to say that we of later times gain more than we lose by this characteristic of our author, which qualified him, in an especial way, to be the historian of a period anterior to the rise of the sceptical spirit, when a tone of mind congenial to his own was prevalent throughout the Hellenic world, and a belief in the supernatural was among the causes which had the greatest weight in shaping events and determining their general course.'

Turning to another point, I would ask: If Herodotus did allow his narrative to be coloured by his philosophy, can we blame him so very much? Surely everyone who does not confine himself, in the most rigid way, to the barest possible record of events—writing history, as someone said, ‘upon his oath’—more or less imports his philosophy into the tale he tells. When we have once accepted the proposition that ‘History is Philosophy teaching by Examples,’ all persons who are not preparing papers for the Royal Historical Society are extremely apt to take care that the Philosophy taught is the correct one, or in other words that which squares with their own views. If those fools of facts do not willingly accommodate themselves to our way of thinking, few can resist the temptation of at least wishing if not coaxing them to be more amenable.

If Herodotus had his philosophy or religion, and liked to

think that events bore it out, he had also a very clear eye, at times, for the more obvious realities of things. His pages seem to me to be full of remarks which illustrate this, so full that I can only find room for a fraction of them. I need hardly say that I believe it to be the historian himself, who is speaking in the character of the many grave counsellors and others, who tender their good advice throughout his nine books. Ages had to pass before even speeches made in public were reported, let alone those which were delivered, if they ever were delivered at all, in the cabinets of kings.

In book vii. chapter xl ix. we have the words :

‘ Such is the first of the two dangers ; and now I will speak to thee of the second. The land will also be thine enemy ; for if no one resists thy advance, as thou proceedest further and further, insensibly allured onwards (for who is ever sated with success ?), thou wilt find it more and more hostile. I mean this, that should nothing else withstand thee, yet the mere distance, becoming greater as time goes on, will at last produce a famine.’

How well it would have been for another and greater conqueror, if this counsel had sunk into his heart before the march to Moscow !

A modern orator, the great Dominican, Lacordaire, has echoed the opinion of Herodotus, in a passage so splendid and so little known in this country, that I may venture to cite it in the original.

‘ Longtemps le dernier des capitaines avait rivé le sort à sa volonté ; les Alpes et les Pyrénées avaient tremblé sous lui ; l’Europe en silence écoutait le bruit de sa pensée, lorsque las de ce domaine où la gloire avait épuisé toutes ses ressources pour lui complaire, il se précipita jusqu’aux confins de l’Asie. Là son regard se troubla et ses aigles tournèrent la tête pour la première fois. Qu’avait-il donc rencontré ? Etais-ce un général plus habile que lui ? Non. Une armée qui n’eût pas encore été vaincue ? Non. Qu’avait-il donc rencontré ? Il avait rencontré le protecteur des faibles, l’asile des peuples opprimés, le grand défenseur de la liberté humaine ; il avait

rencontré l'espace, et toute sa puissance avait failli sous ses pieds.'

Take again the remarks of Mardonius—for whom, of course, we may read Herodotus, himself—in book vii. chapter ix. How well does he put his finger, in the following passage, upon the fool-fury of municipal rivalry, which led Greece in the Peloponnesian War to tear her own vitals, making the whole land and its adjoining seas a mere Pandemonium, and familiarizing even the most intelligent men of the nation so thoroughly with scenes of blood and horror, that not only do we find no protests, from a moral or humane point of view, against what went on, but it does not seem to have struck Thucydides, that the murder of at least fifteen thousand citizens in cold blood—I follow Colonel Mure's figures—had anything in it that was much worthy of attention.

Chapter ix. : ‘Now surely, as they are all of one speech, they ought to interchange heralds and messengers, and make up their differences by any means rather than battle ; or, at the worst, if they must needs fight one against another, they ought to post themselves as strongly as possible, and so try their quarrels. But, notwithstanding that they have so foolish a manner of warfare, yet these Greeks, when I led my army against them to the very borders of Macedonia, did not so much as think of offering me battle.’

Turn next to the words of Artabanus in chapter xviii. : ‘Do thou therefore make known to the Persians what the God has declared, and bid them follow the orders which were first given, and prepare their levies. Be careful to act so, that the bounty of the God may not be hindered by slackness on thy part.’

What is this but the excellent advice attributed to Cromwell : ‘Put your trust in God, and keep your powder dry,’ or as it has been otherwise turned, ‘Use human means as if there were no Divine ones, and Divine as if there were no human ones.’

How well Herodotus knew his countrymen we may see

from the second chapter of book ix. A historian, who was not aware that pecuniary dishonesty was taken as a matter of course by all Greeks, would hardly have told the story of the Thebans' advice to Mardonius : ' But if thou wilt do as we advise,' they went on to say, ' thou mayest easily obtain the direction of all their counsels. Send presents to the men of most weight in the several states, and by so doing thou wilt sow division among them. After that it will be a light task, with the help of such as side with thee, to bring under all thy adversaries.'

With this we may compare the advice of Artabazus, reported in chapter xli.: ' Artabazus thought it would be best for them to break up from their quarters as soon as possible, and withdraw the whole army to the fortified town of Thebes, where they had abundant stores of corn for themselves, and of fodder for the sumpter-beasts. There, he said, they had only to sit quiet, and the war might be brought to an end on this wise. Coined gold was plentiful in the camp, and uncoined gold too ; they had silver moreover in great abundance, and drinking-cups. Let them not spare to take of these, and distribute them among the Greeks, especially among the leaders in the several cities ; 'twould not be long before the Greeks gave up their liberty without risking another battle for it.'

See again chapter lxxxviii. : ' The rest of those whom the Thebans gave up had expected to be tried, and, in that case, they trusted to escape by bribery, but Pausanias, afraid of this, dismissed at once the whole Army of Allies.'

The splendid burst of intellectual activity, which distinguished the fifth century B.C. at Athens, makes us too often forget the moral inferiority of the Greek race ; we do not keep sufficiently before us the fact that envy, hatred, and malice were, after all, the foundation of the national character. Herodotus made himself no illusions on that behalf. He it is, who is speaking through the mouth of Xerxes, when he makes that monarch say, while commenting on the advice given him by Demaratus :

Book vii. chapter ccxxxvii.: ‘A citizen does indeed envy any fellow-citizen, who is more lucky than himself, and often hates him secretly; if such a man be called on for counsel, he will not give his best thoughts, unless indeed he be a man of very exalted virtue, and such are but rarely found. But a friend of another country delights in the good fortune of his foreign bond-friend, and will give him, when asked, the best advice in his power.’

The curious and almost ludicrous rascality of the Greeks in most of their dealings, pecuniary and other, with ‘the Great King’ is well set forth by Professor Mahaffy, relying chiefly on Herodotus, and Herodotus ought to have full credit for the courage which, overpowering national prejudices, enabled him to tell the truth. The Greek Press of to-day might take a lesson from him.

In book iv. chapter clxx. Herodotus strongly approves the advice of Bias to the Ionians, that ‘they should abandon their country under the pressure of the Persian power, proceed to Sardinia, and establish there a city for all the Ionians,’ a very sensible proposal, which, if carried into effect, might have prevented many calamities, and extended civilization much more rapidly through Western Europe.

Very sagacious too are all his comments about the influence of climate upon the strength and hardihood of nations. He makes Cyrus, addressing the Persians, say, in the very last chapter of the ninth book :

‘He warned them not to expect, in that case, to continue rulers, but to prepare for being ruled by others. Soft countries gave birth to soft men.’

These words may almost be taken as an epilogue.

What again could be wiser than the words in book vii. chapter xl ix.: ‘Methinks it is best for men, when they take counsel, to be timorous, and imagine all possible calamities, but, when the time for action comes, then to deal boldly.’

This is the same idea which is expressed in Schiller’s excellent saying about William the Silent: ‘He was calm in danger because he had trembled in repose.’

In the sly observation about Gelon's policy in getting rid of the commonalty in book vii. chapter clvi.: 'His conduct towards both arose from his belief, that a "people" was a most unpleasant companion,' did Herodotus perhaps give a hint of his own opinion?

Note again the remark in book v. chapter xcvi., with regard to the success of Aristagoras the Milesian in alluring the Athenians to make their foolish expedition to Ionia:

'It seems easier to deceive a multitude than one man; for Aristagoras, though he failed to impose on Cleomenes the Lacedæmonian, succeeded with the Athenians, who were 30,000.'

Was he really so opposed, in all cases, to personal rule as Professor Mahaffy believes? From book v. chapter xl ix. we can see that the historian, although speaking through the mouth of Aristagoras, had conceived the possibility of such an enterprise as that of Alexander the Great; for he makes the Milesian say to Cleomenes: 'In the wars which ye wage with your rivals of Messenia, with them of Argos likewise, and of Arcadia, about paltry boundaries and strips of land not so remarkably good, ye contend with those who have no gold nor silver even, which often give men heart to fight and die. Must ye wage such wars, and, when ye might so easily be lords of Asia, will ye decide otherwise?'

The following remark in book vii. chapter clii. shows much insight: 'This, however, I know—that if every nation were to bring all its evil deeds to a given place, in order to make an exchange with some other nation, when they had all looked carefully at their neighbours' faults, they would be truly glad to carry their own back again. So, after all, the conduct of the Argives was not perhaps more disgraceful than that of others. For myself, my duty is to report all that is said; but I am not obliged to believe it all alike—a remark which may be understood to apply to my whole history.'

The sage discourse of Periander's daughter to her brother Lycophron, reported in book iii. chapter liii. was certainly devised by the historian and not by the young lady: 'Come

back home with me, and cease to punish thyself. It is scant gain, this obstinacy. Why seek to cure evil by evil? Mercy, remember, is, by many, set above justice. Power is a slippery thing—it has many suitors; and thy father is old and stricken in years—let not thine own inheritance go to another.'

The following passage, from the speech of Darius in book iii. chapter lxxii. is eminently wanting in dramatic propriety, if it be really true that the ancient Persians were remarkable for their truthfulness; a peculiarity, by the way, which, if it ever existed, has by no means been transmitted to their descendants. All the Persian nobles, however, who figure in this passage, are merely Greeks wearing Persian dresses; and Herodotus was simply reflecting the common view of his countrymen, a view, which, we may say in legal phrase, 'runs with the land,' for it accurately describes the maxims, upon which business has been too often conducted on behalf of the composite race, which, made up of Greek, Albanian, Slavonian, and I know not how many other elements, forms the population of Modern Hellas:

'An untruth must be spoken, where need requires. For whether men lie, or say true, it is with one and the same object. Men lie because they think to gain by deceiving others, and speak the truth because they expect to get something by their true speaking, and to be trusted afterwards in more important matters. Thus, though their conduct is so opposite, the end of both is alike. If there were no gain to be got, your true-speaking man would tell untruths as much as your liar, and your liar would tell the truth as much as your true-speaking man.'

Of course, even in Modern Greece, there are, as there were in the Ancient World, many who would not subscribe in their hearts to this doctrine. Dean Church, in a letter published in his daughter's pleasant Life of her Father, quotes a Greek, as having said to him 'Really, when a Greek does speak the truth, they adore him.' Veramente l' adorano!

How much Herodotus had reflected on the best forms of

government, may be seen from the Speeches which he puts in the mouths of the same Persian magnates, after the death of Smerdis, the Magian. I am sure he believed that some such discussion did take place, which is doubtful in the highest degree, but the arguments used are obviously his own. If we look at the similar discussion between Monarchicus, Aristocraticus, and Democraticus, when the argument is supplied by one of the wisest men who has lived in our times, Sir George Cornewall Lewis, we shall see that the germs of all that they say, are to be found in the discourses attributed to those disputants of the early world.

'Otanes recommended that the management of public affairs should be entrusted to the whole nation : "To me," he said, "it seems advisable, that we should no longer have a single man to rule over us—the rule of one is neither good nor pleasant. Ye cannot have forgotten to what lengths Cambyses went in his haughty tyranny, and the haughtiness of the Magi ye have yourselves experienced. How indeed is it possible that monarchy should be a well-adjusted thing, when it allows a man to do as he likes without being answerable? Such licence is enough to stir strange and unwonted thoughts in the hearts of the worthiest of men. Give a person the power, and straightway his manifold good things puff him up with pride, while envy is so natural to human kind that it cannot but arise in him. But pride and envy together include all wickedness, both leading on to deeds of savage violence. True it is that kings, possessing, as they do, all that heart can desire, ought to be void of envy, but the contrary is seen in their conduct towards the citizens. They are jealous of the most virtuous among their subjects, and wish their death ; while they take delight in the meanest and basest, being ever ready to listen to the tales of slanderers. A king, besides, is beyond all other men inconsistent with himself. Pay him court in moderation and he is angry because you do not show him more profound respect. Show him profound respect, and he is offended again, because (as he says) you fawn on him. But the worst of all is, that he

sets aside the laws of the land, puts men to death without trial, and subjects woman to violence. The rule of the many, on the other hand, has, in the first place, the fairest of names, to wit, isonomy, and further it is free from all those outrages which a king is wont to commit. There, places are given by lot, the magistrate is answerable for what he does, and measures rest with the commonalty. I vote, therefore, that we do away with Monarchy, and raise the people to power, for the people are all in all."

Such were the sentiments of Otanes. Megabyzus spoke next, and advised the setting up of an oligarchy :—" In all that Otanes has said to persuade you to put down monarchy," he observed, " I fully concur ; but his recommendation that we should call the people to power seems to me not the best advice. For there is nothing so void of understanding, nothing so full of the wantonness of a tryant as the unwieldy rabble. It were folly not to be borne, for men, while seeking to escape the wantonness of a tyrant, to give themselves up to the wantonness of a rude unbridled mob. The tyrant, in all his doings, at least knows what he is about, but a mob is altogether devoid of knowledge : for how should there be any knowledge in a rabble, untaught and with no natural sense of what is right and fit ? It rushes wildly into State affairs with all the fury of a stream swollen in the winter, and confuses everything. Let the enemies of the Persians be ruled by democracies ; but let us choose out from the citizens a certain number of the worthiest, and put the government into their hands. For thus both we ourselves shall be among the governors, and power being entrusted to the best man it is likely that the best counsels will prevail in the State."

' This was the advice which Megabyzus gave ; and after him Darius came forward and spoke as follows :—

" All that Megabyzus said against democracy was well said, I think, but about oligarchy he did not speak advisedly ; for take these three forms of government, democracy, oligarchy, and monarchy, and let them each be at their best, I maintain that monarchy far surpasses the other two. What govern-

ment can possibly be better than that of the very best man in the whole state? The counsels of such a man are like himself, and so he governs the mass of the people to their heart's content; while, at the same time, his measures against evil-doers are kept more secret than in other states. Contrariwise, in oligarchies, where men vie with each other in the service of the commonwealth, fierce enmities are apt to arise between man and man, each wishing to be leader, and to carry his own measures; whence violent quarrels come, which lead to open strife, often ending in bloodshed. Then monarchy is sure to follow; and this too shows how far that rule surpasses all others. Again, in a democracy, it is impossible but that there will be malpractices; these malpractices however do not lead to enmities, but to close friendships, which are formed among those engaged in them, who must hold well together to carry on their villanies. And so things go on until a man stands forth as a champion of the commonalty, and puts down evil-doers. Straightway the author of so great a service is admired by all, and from being admired soon comes to be appointed king; so that here too it is plain that monarchy is the best government. Lastly to sum up all in a word, whence, I ask, was it that we got the freedom which we enjoy?—did democracy give it us, or oligarchy, or a monarch? As a single man recovered our freedom for us, my sentence is that we keep to the rule of one. Even apart from this, we ought not to change the laws of our forefathers, when they work fairly, for to do so is not well.”

It is rather sad to think that after so many ages we have got but little nearer the root of the matter. Crito, or, in other words, Sir George Cornewall Lewis—

justissimus unus
Qui fuit in Teucris et servantissimus aequi,

as Mr. Gladstone well called him, thus sums up the debate between *Monarchicus*, *Aristocraticus*, and *Democraticus*:

‘Each one of you, in to-day’s discussion, has been able

to show specious, perhaps strong grounds in favour of his opinion. Monarchicus can say with truth that the testimony of experience is in his favour; that the vast majority of nations, now and at all former periods of time, have been governed by monarchs; and that a plural or republican government is an intricate machine, difficult to work, and constantly tending to relapse into monarchy. Aristocraticus can argue that Aristocracy is the government of intelligence and virtue, and that it is a just medium between the two extremes of monarchy and democracy; while Democraticus can dwell upon the splendid vision of a community bound together by the ties of fraternity, liberty and equality, exempt from hereditary privilege, giving all things to merit, and presided over by a government in which all the national interests are faithfully represented. But even if I were to decide in favour of one of these forms, and against the two others, I should not find myself nearer the solution of the practical problem.'

For the accuracy of Herodotus as to details there is little to be said; still Col. Mure's remark remains perfectly true, that when treating of events and their causes, as exhibited on the broad surface of the current of life, his conclusions are, generally speaking, as just and rational as they are honest and impartial.' A man of whom that can be said is unquestionably a very considerable historian of the best type. Most precious is the work of the men who, groping in the mines of the past, bring facts to the surface, but that is a work, which, very difficult, even in these days of opened archives, was simply impossible in the case of a Greek dealing with anything that had not happened in his own time.

No one of course ever thought of comparing Herodotus, in this respect, with his immediate successor. No one ever thought that the Thucydidean 'painfulness in the search of Truth' was one of his chief characteristics. He did not sift facts very much, but nevertheless he often almost anticipated the words with which the Emperor Baber concludes his delightful parrot stories: 'Let the credit rest with the relator,

yet if one has not heard these things with one's own ears one cannot believe them !'

All honour to Thucydides ! Yet if we could talk in the shades with Brasidas and Cleon and Nicias and Demosthenes and all the rest of them, is it quite certain, that we should come back altogether satisfied with his accuracy ? Many of us knew personally one of the most careful and intelligent recorders of conversations who ever lived in England. He was the soul of truth and honour—he was devoted to Tocqueville, and yet did not that eminent person say : 'I must love him very much to go on loving him ; he does make me say such dreadful things !' What would have to be said about Thucydides if he were to be tried by such a test ?

We cannot consent so to try Herodotus. Some have complained that he does not appear to have made in Egypt the acquaintance of any Egyptian of position. To that, I suspect, the historian would reply in the spirit of the French-woman, who said : 'On a les amis qu'on peut !' What reason is there to suppose that he had any access to good society in Egypt ? Dragomans and such waiters on Providence were probably the best authorities whom he knew. We are infinitely obliged to some modern Egyptologists for correcting him, but we are none the less obliged to him for describing the contemporary world as it mirrored itself, often strangely enough, no doubt, in his intelligence.

What has given him his hold on so many ages, and will give him, as I venture to think, a still more important place in education, than he has at present, is his wide survey of men and things, coupled with that strange power, common to the best classic authors, of writing things which come back to a man, as Cardinal Newman said, 'after he has had experience of life and pierce him, as if he had never before known them with their sad earnestness and vivid exactness. Then he comes to understand how it is, that lines, the birth of some chance morning or evening at an Ionian festival or among the Sabine hills, have lasted generation after generation, for thousands of years, with a power over the mind and a charm,

which the current literature of his own day, with all its obvious advantages, is utterly unable to rival. Perhaps this is the reason of the mediæval opinion about Virgil, as of a prophet or magician: his single words and phrases, his pathetic half lines, giving utterance, as the voice of Nature herself, to that pain and weariness, yet hope of better things, which is the experience of her children in every time.'

Of the life of Herodotus we really know next to nothing. Canon Rawlinson, in his elaborate edition, and in his careful article in the '*Encyclopædia Britannica*', has told us as much as can be recovered from the eternal silence. But his biographies, if biographies they can be called, are little more than arrangements in probabilities and possibilities, reminding one much of some words once famous in Oxford and suggestive of other things which were to come. 'And this is all we know, and perhaps more than we know of the life of this great Saint, but not more than the angels know.'

Yet, no one who reads the pages of the great Halicarnassian can, I think, fail to agree with Colonel Mure, that he must have been a more amiable man than Thucydides. We could not hesitate as to which of them we should prefer spending a morning with in the Elysian fields, and assuredly, in this world, the work of Herodotus, is a far more valuable one to the student than is the story of the Peloponnesian War. The very fact, that the details of Herodotus are often obviously incorrect, and may be neglected to a great extent, is of itself an advantage. We, whose special business it is anxiously to investigate groups of facts, cannot keep too constantly before our minds the truth, that, for the training of the young, the important thing is to fix the attention upon the great lines of history, its undisputed or hardly disputed portions. The work of Thucydides introduces us to little save itself. It is mainly a military narrative, setting forth how the detestable generation of soldiers and politicians, with which he was contemporaneous, tore its detestable self to pieces. Of the Lapland summer of literary and artistic genius just before and in his time, he tells us practically nothing.

It was by that burst of genius that the Greece of his day was great, not by the doings of most of the personages who figure in his pages. Alcibiades, the most gifted of them, is worthy of the study of the modern politician as being, bating the genius, curiously like the Greek politician of to-day, some traits in the character of Themistocles being thrown in to complete the unlovely picture. The Melian controversy too is a precious document for the study of the Foreign Offices of Europe, if they want to know what the average Athenian journalist of 1895 will think of *meum* and *tuum*, might and right. The history of Herodotus is valuable, however, in quite a different way. It and the Old Testament, in the hands of competent teachers, who dream no dreams, and do not desire to read into either of these venerable documents things which are not there, will form, in a generation or so, the most admirable, as they will be the most usual, introduction to the study of history. Every year more sites in the classical lands, in Egypt and in Syria will be examined ; and we shall eventually have an edition of Herodotus, which will give us results without the learned apparatus, most precious in its way, which we have in Canon Rawlinson's edition. Such a book, a few passages here and there being omitted for obvious reasons, will, by the aid of ample illustrations, bring some day to a London bookseller a harvest as great as did, in our own times, the 'Life and Travels of Saint Paul,' but the hour for that has not yet come.

When once the natural enemies of youth have been forced to teach Greek as a modern language, abandoning, amongst other things, the ineffably ridiculous so-called Erasmian pronunciation, we shall see a great revival of Greek studies. For the moment, it is, I think, wise to diminish the place hitherto occupied by Greek in education ; but, when another race of scholars has arisen to transform our methods of studying Greek, the acquisition of the language will become indefinitely easier, as well as more profitable, and it will have a resurrection. It is difficult to speak too contemptuously of that Phil-Hellenic enthusiasm which ignores, either with

regard to ancient or modern times, the peculiarities of the Greek moral character ; but the enthusiasm, which is raised by the real merits of the old Greeks, will, I am convinced, grow stronger and stronger with the increasing intelligence of mankind, and the fame of Herodotus, which has a little waned, will surely wax again.

A SPEECH DELIVERED BY THE RIGHT HON.
SIR M. E. GRANT DUFF, G.C.S.I., PRES. ROY.
HIST. SOC., CHAIRMAN OF THE GIBBON
COMMEMORATION MEETING, NOVEMBER 15,
1894

SIR M. E. GRANT DUFF said :

It has been said with perhaps too much truth—

Earth plays the step-dame to her poets ever,
Then grieves and gives them fame,
As if they cared to hear by God's great river
The echo of their name.

I know not whether the disembodied spirits of historians care more for the reputation which they leave behind, though the idea of enduring fame was undoubtedly present to the mind of Gibbon when he took that ever-memorable walk in the *berceau* of his garden at Lausanne. One thing, however, is certain, that whether or not the building of the sepulchres of the prophets is pleasant to the prophets themselves, it is assuredly a very salutary exercise for those who engage in it, and, accordingly, when Mr. Frederic Harrison wrote to me to ask if the Royal Historical Society would be inclined to support his proposal to celebrate the hundredth anniversary of the death of the author of 'The Decline and Fall,' I replied that I should have the greatest possible pleasure in bringing his scheme before our Council. I did so; the project was unanimously approved by all the members present, and a committee was constituted then and there, with power to add to its number. That committee grew, and when I returned to London, after an absence on the Continent, I found it in a state of the most wholesome activity. At our first meeting it was settled that I should apply to Lord Sheffield to request

him to become the president of the commemoration, and to allow us to exhibit the Gibbon relics in his possession. Shortly afterwards he returned from the Northern seas, and acceded, in the most prompt and kind manner, to both our requests.

To him and to Mr. Frederic Harrison the public is primarily indebted for any interest which may attach to the present meeting, and to the exhibition now on view at the British Museum, for if it had not been for Mr. Harrison the idea would not have been started, and without the co-operation of Lord Sheffield, who possesses more valuable Gibbon relics than any one else, it could not have been carried into effect. In carrying it into effect the zeal and activity of our two secretaries have worked wonders.

The most valuable of the relics collected are undoubtedly the journals, letters, and other manuscripts which have been kept with admirable care at Sheffield Park for a hundred years.

Although the first Lord Sheffield took infinite pains, and exercised, I doubt not, a most wise discretion in determining what portion of the Gibbon papers should be given to the world, it is highly probable that, circumstances having very much changed since the early days of the century, his grandson may see fit to authorise the publication of many things which were judiciously suppressed even in 1814. In addition, however, to the manuscripts, Lord Sheffield has sent many other things which, if not equally important, on account of the use that may be made of them, are even more interesting. I need only mention the great picture of the historian by Reynolds.

The name of the illustrious painter reminds me of the Club which he really founded, although it is oftener, thanks to Boswell, associated with the name of Johnson, who, like Burke, Goldsmith, and four others, was an original member. Gibbon was elected on March 4, 1774, ten years after its institution, the twenty-third member, and to this day the chairman of the night always announces its elections in a formula suggested by, and characteristic of him.

Monsieur de Charrière de Sévery, who represents the inti-

mate friend of Gibbon's latest years at Lausanne, has also sent many treasures, such as the holograph will of the historian and, *mirabile dictu*, two bottles of the Madeira well known to readers of his autobiography and letters, and which he considered necessary 'for his health and his reputation.'

One of the relics which will attract most public attention, lent us by General Meredith Read, is Gibbon's Bible, which is said always to have lain in his bedroom at Lausanne. Undoubtedly his attitude to Christianity is the feature in his great work which has done most to diminish its influence, and all educated men, to whatever school they belong, would now admit with his masterly biographer, Mr. Cotter Morison, that this is a most serious blemish. It is, however, only fair to remember that Christianity, as it presented itself to Gibbon's mind, was something very different from what we are accustomed to associate with the name. It is of the metropolis of Anglicanism, as it was at that period, that the Bishop of Derry makes the genius of Oxford say—

And must I speak at last of sensual sleep,
The dull forgetfulness of aimless years?
Oh, let me turn away my head and weep
Than Rachel's bitterer tears—

Tears for the passionate hearts I might have won,
Tears for the age with which I might have striven,
Tears for a hundred years of work undone,
Crying like blood to Heaven.

Things in France, far from being better, were very much worse. The French Church was indulging in all those follies and wickednesses of which Gibbon lived to see the bloody and terrible end. Whatever faults he might now have to find with it, and they would doubtless be many, he would be the first to admit that, ever since its misfortunes began, it has been in many of its aspects a power for good. I have often smiled to think, and the memoirs of our times will make it sufficiently clear, that within a walk of his own house and in sight of the very view of which he was so fond, he

would have found that Church represented in a form which, if he had only come across it early enough, might have proved a formidable antidote to the controversial efforts of the excellent M. Pavillard, and would assuredly have conciliated his respect, though it would not have commanded his assent when he had reached the fulness of his mighty powers.

It would be uncandid to deny that the ‘Decline and Fall’ has other blemishes, but they are all trifling compared to the one to which I have alluded, and most assuredly if Gibbon had died in 1894 instead of 1794, although his conclusions as to many things might have been precisely the same, his tone would have been absolutely different. He belonged to a time, on whose shoulders was laid the burden of a tremendous work of destruction, of destruction which had to be done before even Christianity itself had a fair chance. It was of the greatest man of that period that one who grew up under totally opposite conditions and associations well said, ‘Destiny gave him eighty years of existence slowly to decompose the decaying age. He had the time to combat against time, and when he fell he was the conqueror.’

But just because Gibbon was a supreme historical genius he would have seen, had he belonged to our age, that destruction, however necessary, takes one but a little way. He never would have had the folly with the Romanticists to disown the eighteenth century, ‘our excellent and indispensable eighteenth century,’ as Matthew Arnold called it, but he would have emancipated himself from its idols, have seen how much good there was in many institutions which it rejected, and have written something even greater than the noble work which is the grandest historical achievement as yet accomplished on this planet.

The best of his adversaries have always acknowledged his great merits. Even in his own time the attitude of Bishop Watson towards him was very creditable. Cardinal Newman, as I know from one who conversed with him on the subject near the end of his life, retained to the last the profoundest admiration for the author of the ‘Decline and Fall.’ We have

on the committee, which has organised this commemoration, two prelates of the Anglican communion, equalled in learning by few either of their contemporaries or predecessors. We have three deans, men of the very highest accomplishment—those of Westminster, Salisbury, and Durham. Nothing would have been easier, indeed, than to have had a long list of distinguished ecclesiastics, if the presence of these five had not been all-sufficient to show the sentiments of the best and wisest men of their order.

It is gratifying, too, to observe that the President of Magdalen, but of a Magdalen changed beyond recognition from the Magdalen of the historian's youth, has given us his countenance and co-operation.

Now, however, I will not stand any longer between you and one who is so pre-eminently fitted to address you on the subject of Gibbon, but call upon Mr. Harrison to read his paper.

AN ADDRESS DELIVERED NOVEMBER 15, 1894,
ON THE OCCASION OF THE GIBBON CEN-
TENARY COMMEMORATION

By FREDERIC HARRISON

MR. FREDERIC HARRISON, V.P.R.Hist.S., said :

It is now just one hundred years ago that, in a remote village church under Ashdown Forest in Sussex, and in the most simple manner, were laid to rest, by the loving care of his lifelong friend, the mortal remains of the most famous writer of history in the English language. Edward Gibbon, the immortal author of '*The Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire*', died in London in January 1794, at the age of 56, after an illness of a few days, almost in the fulness of his intellectual power, at the zenith of his fame, with the great work of his life achieved, in perfect peace of mind, and surrounded by the esteem and affection of all who knew him. His dear friend, we may almost say his brother by adoption, Lord Sheffield, whose grandson to-day presides over this gathering, placed the body in the Sheffield mausoleum in Fletching Church, where it still reposes ; and he collected in the house of Sheffield Place portraits, miniatures, personal relics, manuscripts, diaries, and letters of the historian ; and there, until now, they have been religiously preserved as heirlooms in the Sheffield family. Nor have the literary remains ever been examined since the publication of Lord Sheffield's five volumes of '*Miscellaneous Works*' in 1814, except partially by Dean Milman more than fifty years ago.

During these hundred years the reputation of the historian has been continually growing larger and more firm ; his limitations and his errors have been so amply acknowledged

that they have ceased to arouse the controversy and the odium which they naturally invited in former generations ; and the civilised world, making full allowance for differences of party and of creed, has agreed to honour the historian for his grand success, and no longer to censure that wherein he failed. But hardly any Englishman, with a world-wide fame, has received so little of public honour, or has fallen so completely out of the eye of the world as a personality. Our National Portrait Gallery contains not a single likeness of any kind ; there is no record of him in any public institution, no tablet, inscription, bust, or monument ; his name figures in no public place ; and the house which he inhabited in London bears no mark of its most illustrious inmate. Though masses of his original manuscripts exist, our British Museum contains nothing of them but a single letter ; his memoirs, his diaries, his notes, his letters, in his own beautiful writing, are extant in perfect condition. But they are all in private hands, and for some generations they have never been examined or collated by any student or scholar.

It has seemed right to the Royal Historical Society that in this, the centenary year of the historian's death, some public attempt should be made, not, indeed, to rekindle admiration for his splendid work (for that has no need to be stimulated or assisted), but to give the public an opportunity of seeing the relics and mementoes of Edward Gibbon—the fine portrait by Reynolds which has hardly ever before left Sheffield Place, the careful and elaborate manuscripts as he composed them, the catalogue of his library, the diaries of his life, his original letters, the presentation copies of his great work with his manuscript corrections and notes, views of the houses and the spots where his labours were done, and all those personal details and surroundings which serve to define our conception of a great man of letters.

But, mainly and primarily, this simple commemoration of ours will be of use if it be the occasion of making a new and exhaustive examination of the large literary remains of the

historian, which, since the final publication of Lord Sheffield's labour of love exactly eighty years ago, have never received any critical review from any eye whatever. The devotion of the first Lord Sheffield to the welfare of his illustrious friend in life, and to his memory when dead, is as fine an example of generous friendship as any in the whole range of English literature ; and those who have had the opportunity to judge will bear witness to the signal ability, the good taste, the zeal and discretion with which Lord Sheffield carried out his self-imposed task. We owe it to him that the mortal remains of the historian have been preserved to this hour in such religious reverence and stately repose; we owe it to him that portraits, letters, relics, and personal belongings have been kept, as it were, in a private museum ; but especially we owe it to him that such ample collections from the literary remains of a great figure in English literature have been opened to the public. But what it was quite becoming for Lord Sheffield to do in 1796, with the contemporaries and relations of the historian living, can be no law to us to-day. The readers of the '*Decline and Fall*', of the '*Memoirs*' and '*Letters*' of Edward Gibbon, now number as many millions as they then numbered thousands. A new era, new problems, new studies absorb us. And we congratulate Lord Sheffield, the grandson, to-day that with such public spirit he has invited the world at large to see the literary treasures that he has inherited, and consents to satisfy the curiosity of the reading world with such new and additional publication of these unknown papers as a careful scrutiny shall suggest.

We are not in England fond of commemorations of any kind ; and our national abhorrence of apodeictic oratory is a very wholesome feeling, though it may be carried to excess. But where a great light in our literature has been by circumstances withdrawn from general attention, where his literary remains and his correspondence, his published and unpublished manuscripts, have been sealed up in private cases for a century, the hundredth anniversary of his death may become a most convenient occasion to place before the present generation

the personality of the man in a more vivid light, and to subject every fragment from his pen to a new and careful review. What would not the world have gained, if in 1421, the centenary of Dante's death, or even in 1521, the bicentenary, the antiquarians of Italy had sought to recover some personal knowledge of their great poet's life? And, ah! what if, in 1716, the centenary of Shakespeare's death, our ancestors had set themselves to collect all that could be reached, in order to put before themselves Shakespeare in the flesh, to recover any fragments of his writing, to compile the most authentic volume of his dramas! Commemorations, alas! are too often delayed until nothing is left but to utter empty praises, and to attempt to recall what we have no longer any means of knowing. A century is not too long a period, nor is it too short a period, at the close of which we may call up the living image and the daily life of some dead glory of our English name, so as to subject to new scrutiny such portions of his authentic and undoubted manuscript as time may have spared and the love of friends has cherished.

This is exactly what we can do now in the case of the historian of the Roman Empire. We come to study Gibbon—not to praise him. It would, indeed, be a vain attempt of mine if I were to presume to add another word to the chorus of admiration, which rises up from every rank of English literature, from the cultured students of the Old World and the New World, when the great historical achievement of Gibbon is named. I shall cast no puny pebble of my own on that vast cairn which the learned of all nations have raised to his memory. If we seek his monument, let us look around—to the historical scholars of Europe and of America who join in one voice of wonder and admiration. How deep and how wide is that unanimous voice we may gather from the list of the foreign historians, led by the venerable Theodor Mommsen, who join our own historians in wishing to do honour to our great writer by sharing in our celebration.

We recall the eloquent words of one of his most eminent successors, Dean Merivale, who says: 'I forbear myself

from entering the lists in which he has long stalked alone and unchallenged.' But if this is not the occasion for any vain panegyric, still less is it the occasion for any incisive criticism. We are not met, I think, to repeat racy anecdotes about the foibles, the defects, it may be the oddities of a great genius ; nor have we any need to enlarge on the patent acknowledged shortcomings of his work. No one now thinks of defending Gibbon's treatment of the rise of Christianity, of the foundation of the mediæval Church, of the work of the Catholic apostles, saints, and statesmen. To myself all this is peculiarly offensive as well as misleading, as is much of his constitutional persiflage about enthusiasts, his sub-cynical humour, and his taste for scandal. We acknowledge, then, that Gibbon is far from being always trustworthy as a philosopher, far from being just to the creed which he despised, and was more than unjust to some of the purest and noblest of mankind.

Much less will any one claim for Edward Gibbon the character of a hero, the name of a great man, the spirit of a martyr or leader of men. No one will ever call him *ultimus Romanorum*, or the thunder-god ; no one pretends that he is one of the great souls who inspire their age. We do not set him on any moral pinnacle, either as man or as teacher ; nor do we rank him with the master spirits who form the conscience of generations. Without unwisely exaggerating his intellectual forces, without weakly closing our eyes upon his moral shortcomings, we can do full justice to the magnificent literary art, to the lovable nature, the indomitable industry, the noble equanimity of the man. We come, then, to-day neither to praise nor to criticise ; we offer round his tomb no idle encomium, nor do we presume to weigh his ashes in our critical scales. We come to meditate again over all that recalls the charm and sweet sociability of a warm and generous friend ; to study with rekindled zest the cherished remnants which friendship has preserved of one of the greatest masters of historical research that has ever adorned the literature of Europe.

It is right, then, upon an occasion like this to dwell on the bright and humane side of the historian's life and character. And what ample materials are before us to show him at his best ! This profusion of intimate letters that care has preserved forms one almost unbroken record of a most affectionate nature, of a generous and grateful temper, of quiet and sane judgment ; and in his attachment to Lord Sheffield and his family one of the most constant and beautiful types of friendship embalmed in our literature. The long and unvarying tenor of that brotherly union between two men of natures so different, and of circumstances and pursuits so far apart, is a fact most honourable to our public life and to English letters. We can now read in that careful, clear, and measured handwriting, so finely characteristic of Gibbon's mind, those intimate outpourings of friendship and sympathy in the affectionate, generous, if somewhat stately, letters to his friend on the more touching episodes of their lives—such letters as that on the death of young Holroyd, on the death of Lady Sheffield, on the loss of Deyverdun and de Sévery. The inner life of men of letters—alas ! too often their outer and public life—is darkened, we know, by fierce disputes and bitter pains. How refreshing is it to read in this mass of correspondence an even record of contentment, cheerful good nature, warm attachment, and steadfast repose in a great aim ! It breathes of peace, friendship, confiding happiness, and magnanimous love of truth. Edward Gibbon had his worries like other men—worries hardly ever the consequence of any error of his own—but how little of repining or of irritation does he display ! He was bitterly and unjustly attacked ; but how little is there of controversy ; and even in his replies to Priestley and to Davies his language is measured, dignified, and calm. No one pretends that Edward Gibbon had any trace in his nature of passionate impulse or of spiritual nobility. His warmest affection is cast into a Ciceronian mould ; and his imperturbable good sense always remains his dominant note. Gibbon was neither a Burke nor a Shelley, still less was he a Rousseau or a

Carlyle. He was a delightful companion, a hearty friend, an indomitable student, and an infallible master of that equanimity which stamps such men as Hume, Adam Smith, and Turgot. It is the *mitis sapientia Læli* which breathes through every line of these elaborate letters.

In the manuscript memoirs, journals, and memoranda (now for the first time made public) we have a vivid picture of his placid and laborious life. It is a rare (almost a unique) example in the history of English letters of a life of continual success, fortunate circumstances, tranquil labour on one plan, and entire achievement of a gigantic aim. And this, although his life was abruptly cut short at fifty-six, and his systematic devotion to his studies did not begin till he was upwards of thirty. The agonies, the waste, the tragedies of so many literary careers, have a strange interest for us, and sometimes cast a factitious halo around the story of genius buffeted in a sea of troubles. The life of Edward Gibbon is entirely wanting in such sources of colour and charm. It is a life of monotonous ease and assured contentment. Happy (we know) is the nation which has no history; still more happy is the student who has no biography.

But in the interest of our literature we may rejoice that the years of one great scholar flowed on with the peacefulness of a great fertilising river. His life is in his great book, not in fascinating anecdotes of his sorrows and his failures. As Mr. Cotter Morison has finely said, 'The life of Gibbon is thereby the less interesting, but his work remains monumental and supreme.' In the manuscript of his 'Memoirs' I find this unpublished and most characteristic passage: 'Few works of merit or importance have been executed either in a garret or a palace. . . . Wretched is the author and wretched will be the work where daily diligence is stimulated by daily hunger.' The *aurea mediocritas* which threw its peaceful glow over the life of Edward Gibbon from his cradle to his grave has left but poor materials for his biographers. But it should fill us with satisfaction when we contemplate it in the life as in the Museum we now may do; when we

remember how greatly it promoted the calm achievement and the perfection of his colossal work.

If our curiosity regrets, our humanity may welcome, the sunshine which fortune continued to pour around the life of Gibbon. He was born to wealth and good position ; he retained ease throughout his life ; and he early gained access to all that was most brilliant in Europe. He had exactly the society he loved, and he knew every one of importance of his time. He divided his life between a beautiful country and some famous cities. He travelled far ; he sat in Parliament ; he was a trained soldier ; he lived in the most cultured centres ; and he knew the foremost men and women of his age. ‘His temper,’ he said most truly, was ‘not susceptible of envy’ ; and I hardly know why we need grudge to a kindly and generous man of genius that Fortune gave him almost everything that she could offer. He never professed to be a hero ; he neither asked his fellow-men to pity his sorrows nor to bow down to his greatness. He took the goods the gods provided with open-hearted gratitude ; he warmed both hands before the fire of life ; and, as it sank, he avowed himself ready to depart. He did not affect to deny that he was a man of birth, of breeding, almost of fashion ; and, insatiable student as he was, he always makes us feel that he is withal a man of the world and a gentleman. Such as he was, we may see him to-day in our British Museum—cheery, obese, placid, good-natured, a little the fine gentleman in spite of his bulk ; precise, courteous, and ceremonious in his habits ; living in some of the most lovely spots of Switzerland and of Southern England ; at home in the stately court and the magnificent woodland park of his friend ; welcomed in the most eminent circles of his age. And now, after a hundred years, he sleeps peacefully in his undisturbed coffin, beside his friend and the wife and child of his friend, in the old twelfth-century church of Fletching, with its memorials of Nevills, Dalyngrudges, and Leches, near the dust of men who fell in the battle of Lewes under Simon de Montfort.

In his 'Memoirs' the historian complains that it was not until past the age of thirty that he was really free to devote his whole life to the task he had first conceived some years before. It was not completed till he had passed the age of fifty. But as we study the diaries now before us in the Museum, we need not regret the time that was given to soldiering and to Parliament. He served in the Hampshire Militia altogether for eleven years, ultimately retiring as colonel at the age of thirty-three. During this period, his regiment, of which he was captain of the grenadier company, was permanently embodied for two years and a half; and during this training it reached the efficiency of a first-rate regiment of the line. It is clear from the interesting study, just published by Major Holden, that Captain, Major, and Colonel Gibbon made himself a thorough officer of more than ordinary intelligence, and with real aptitude for service in spite of his physical defects. He made himself master of scientific tactics, and of the practical organisation of a camp; and he spoke, as Major Holden remarks, with real modesty about himself when he said: 'The captain of the Hampshire Grenadiers had not been useless to the historian of the Roman Empire.'

Even during this time of military service, in camp, at his father's country house, in Parliament, whilst travelling, and in the whirl of society in London, it is most plain, from the unpublished diaries now in the Museum, that Gibbon was always a most voracious and systematic student. With him *nulla dies sine linea* meant—study some solid book every spare hour of every day. In this, as in so many other things, he resembles Macaulay. Both were always reading, reading on a plan, and reading to good purpose. To Gibbon, as to Macaulay, the life in Parliament, the converse with statesmen, the charge of great public duties, and to Gibbon the experience of serious, though not bloody military service, were of inestimable use in preparing the historian for unravelling the confused records of state and of war. Like Thucydides and Polybius, like Cæsar and Tacitus, like de

Comines and Voltaire, like Clarendon and Macaulay, Gibbon had passed years of his life in the intimacy of statesmen, in the inner circles of political life, and in the very centre of acute crises both in war and in policy. There is hardly an instance of a great historian (unless we count Carlyle as such) who has studied the annals of the past as seen entirely from the books upon his library shelves.

The most valuable result of this centenary commemoration will be found, as I have already said, in a thorough examination of the original manuscripts which now for the first time, by the public spirit of our President, the present Earl of Sheffield, have been given to view. The famous 'Memoirs of My Life and Writings,' as published by Lord Sheffield in 1796, and enlarged and re-edited in 1814, forms one of the masterpieces of English literature, and has been frequently pronounced to be the best Autobiography in the language. Lord Sheffield states that this was carefully selected and put together from six different sketches. But perhaps few persons know the extent and the mode of this 'selection.' The six pieces, in Gibbon's beautiful and exact handwriting, are all now in the Museum. They were written apparently at different dates in the five years between 1788-93. They are not continuous narratives of different periods of his life ; they all are more or less detailed sketches of his life from the beginning. No one of them is a complete whole ; no one of them seems final ; nor can any one of them be taken as plainly superior to the rest. They do not observe the same order of narration ; they sometimes repeat the same phrases, sentences, and even paragraphs ; sometimes they give a slightly variant reading ; sometimes they recount the same incident, or work out the same thought, in a totally new form, and even in a slightly different tone. It is not at all clear that the historian had the other drafts before him whilst composing any one. It seems as if he were writing partly from memory of what he had written before ; partly as if he wished to try a new form, and even another method.

The result is that the published Life as we read it to-day

does not follow any manuscript of Gibbon at all. It is made up of passages pieced together with singular skill, first from one, then from another of the six manuscripts. The order is constantly inverted ; paragraphs, sentences, phrases are omitted ; whole pages disappear, and many characteristic points drop out altogether. The printed 'Memoir' is really a *pot-pourri* concocted out of the manuscripts with great skill, with signal tact, but with the most daring freedom. There are few pages where a complete recasting of some passage has not been made ; there are not many pages in which the text follows on continuously in accordance with any single manuscript ; and there are not many paragraphs in which *some* phrase is not deleted or varied.

But there is more than this. Entire episodes are suppressed. Passages of Gibbonian humour or irony are omitted. Long and important paragraphs which are in the *text* of the manuscript drop into the *notes* of the print. Epigrams are cut out of one manuscript and are inserted in the middle of a passage taken out of a different manuscript. And of course these liberties cannot be taken without changing the form of the sentence, adding connecting words, and sometimes varying the whole character of a phrase. It is obvious that the task of making a continuous narrative out of six more or less synoptic versions was one of singular difficulty ; and it was done by the editor with curious felicity and great judgment. Whilst Gibbon's relations and contemporaries survived, and amidst the storms of religious passion in the year 1796, it was natural, indeed, that Lord Sheffield should suppress, soften, and vary much. But the extent to which this has been done would startle many lovers of the inimitable 'Memoirs.' Possibly a third of the manuscript is not printed at all ; some of the most famous passages are varied ; and unsuccessful attempts are made to shield the author of the fifteenth chapter from the reputation of being unorthodox. As we take up the manuscript and compare it with the text, it looks as if some Able Editor had been

at work in what they call ‘boiling down’ and ‘softening’ the copy of some daring tiro.

I proceed to give some examples of this process. In the first paragraph Gibbon wrote, ‘after the completion of a *toilsome* and successful work’; but the printed text gives it as an ‘arduous’ work. The first paragraph, as printed, is followed by a series of paragraphs taken from a totally different manuscript. In the printed text the long and vivacious account of William Law and of his convert, Mrs. Hester Gibbon, whom he commemorated as ‘Miranda,’ is greatly curtailed. Gibbon wrote that the author of ‘The Serious Call’ ‘died in the house, I may not say, in the arms of his beloved Miranda.’ The printed text runs: ‘died in her house.’ I have already cited the passage which is omitted after his diatribe on ‘the labour and the luxury of a superfluous fortune.’ It is not clear why such characteristic sentences as these are suppressed. ‘There was a time when I swallowed almost as much physic as food, and my body is still marked with the scars of bleedings, issues, and caustics.’ Again: ‘The dynasties of Assyria and Egypt were my top and cricket-ball.’ Scores of such truly Gibbonian epigrams are erased as unworthy the gravity of history.

It is obvious why Lord Sheffield omitted the highly-Gibsonian remark on ‘The Serious Call,’ that ‘it is indeed somewhat whimsical that the Fanatics who most vehemently inculcate the love of God should be those who despoil Him of every amiable attribute.’ He naturally deletes also the last sentence in the manuscript ‘Memoir’ about ‘the mere philosophers who can only speculate about the immortality of the soul’—‘the Christians who repeat, without thought or feeling, the words of the Catechism’—and ‘the gloomy fanatics who are more strongly affected by the fear of Hell than the hopes of Heaven.’ It was natural enough that Lord Sheffield should shrink from closing the serene autobiography of his friend with these fierce and somewhat trite invectives. But the readers of Gibbon have long been accustomed to language of the kind, or worse. And it is a question if any-

'thing is really gained by thus bowdlerising or exorcising the plain words of the incorrigible sceptic.

But the most startling instance of transposition of the text is to be found in the famous and fascinating passage where the historian recounts, after thirty years, his love affair, at the age of twenty, with Mdlle. Curchod, afterwards Madame Necker. Every reader knows that delicious passage beginning : 'I hesitate, from the apprehension of ridicule, when I approach the delicate subject of my early love.' It is one of the gems of autobiographic candour which has seriously coloured our estimate of Gibbon's mind and character. Imagine my surprise when I came to this historic passage in the original manuscript and noted that the proverbial epigram —'I sighed as a lover, I obeyed as a son'—is not in the passage at all ! The manuscript runs thus : 'After a painful struggle I yielded to my fate ; the remedies of absence and time were at length effectual ; and my loss subsided in friendship and esteem.'

That is how Gibbon wrote in calm and tender reminiscence of his only love : and I learn, from an unpublished letter of Miss Holroyd's, that this passage was privately shown to Madame Necker just before her death (May 1794). It is true that the famous epigram is really his ; but it occurs in another draft and in a different connexion. Apparently, in a later piece, as if half ashamed of his sentimental effusion, he tried another account of his boyish flame, and cast it in sharper outlines into Gibbonian antitheses. In this later draft he writes : 'The romantic hopes of youth and passion were crushed on my return by the prejudice or prudence of an English parent.' It will be seen that these words are not in our printed text. Then he goes on : 'I sighed as a lover, I obeyed as a son : my wound was insensibly healed by time, absence, and the habits of a new life, &c.' This phrase is taken out of its context, and by the editor is dexterously inserted into the midst of the other narrative, which is pitched in a rather more pathetic key.

I admire the skill, but I tremble at the daring, with which

Lord Sheffield thus dissected the remains of his eloquent friend. It is like performing a critical operation on a vital organ. I will not venture to say that it could have been better done, much less will I pretend to suggest any other way of doing it. The six Gibbon manuscripts stand side by side as synoptic versions of the same story. Each adds or omits some touch ; no one is complete or final. Every one knows the life of Alfred in synoptic chronicles—the Saxon, Asser, Florence, and so forth. Now Gibbon's autobiographic manuscripts stand side by side like that. To fuse them into one is like an attempt to throw the four Gospels into one narrative. It seems inevitable, and no one can doubt the fine sense of literary effect with which it was done.

There is a tradition in the family that it was partly the work of Lord Sheffield's daughter—that Maria Holroyd, afterwards the first Lady Stanley of Alderley—of whom the historian speaks with such affection and admiration, as uniting ‘the strong sense of a man’ to the ‘easy elegance of a female,’ as ‘endowed with every gift of nature’—she whose numerous descendants are so well known to-day, and who certainly inherit no small portion of her intellect and gifts. Now, the manuscripts seem marked, corrected, deleted, and noted for the copyist by a woman's hand, and her marks and her often vehement erasures correspond with the changes in the text as printed. This handwriting in the margin exactly corresponds with that in Miss Holroyd's extant letters. No doubt rests in my mind that the first Lady Stanley of Alderley had no small hand in editing the ‘Memoirs’ of the historian, in expunging many eighteenth-century cynicisms and some sceptical sarcasms, in shortening, softening, and perhaps in giving a lighter touch to this piquant work. One of her descendants informs me that the extant letters of this lady make frequent mention of her literary work in conjunction with her stepmother, the second Lady Sheffield. In one letter she says : ‘ My lady and I are working busily at the Memoirs, and are excellent devils.’ In another letter Miss Holroyd writes : ‘ There are passages in the

Memoirs which would be very unfit to publish.' Again she writes : 'If the letters had fallen into the hands of a Boswell, what fun the world would have had !' The account of his first publication is told in a Gibbonian phrase ('the loss of my literary maidenhead'), which in the published version becomes 'the petty circumstances and period of my first publication.'

The yet unpublished manuscripts consist of the six 'Memoirs,' of which perhaps one third has not been printed, a few letters, at least one of which has a curious interest, and five Diaries or *Ephémérides*, of which small excerpts are inserted as notes in the published 'Memoirs' and in a few other parts of the 'Miscellaneous Works.' These Diaries fill no less than 720 pages of quarto and folio in Gibbon's very close handwriting. Three of them are in French, one in English, and one partly in French and partly in English, the latter being an account of his tour in Rome. His habit seems to have been to write in English when in England, and in French when he was abroad. The shortest and earliest Diary is a tour in Switzerland in 1755, at the age of eighteen. Then comes his 'Journal of my Actions, Studies, and Opinions,' beginning August 1762, at the age of twenty-five, during his military service and life in Hampshire. This gives very lively details and a full account of his reading, studies, and ambitions. Next is the French journal, from August 1763, at Lausanne, on his second visit, after an interval of five years. The fourth is in French, written in 1763, giving his Italian journey. The fifth continues the journey in Italy in 1764 (*ætat. 27*), written in French until he reaches Rome ; but curiously enough at Rome he passes into English.

The Journals, or Diaries, are not continued later than 1764, and they thus range over the nine years from 1755 to 1764. They, of course, have not the literary grace or the elaborate polish of the 'Memoirs' ; they have not the rattle and *verve* of Byron's diaries, nor the artless candour of Pepys' diary. But as a picture of keen observation, indomitable industry, omnivorous reading, and the mastery of a powerful

intellect amidst all the distractions of a busy and changing life, they are well worth giving to the world. I will not presume to prejudge the question of the form publication should take. But I do most earnestly plead for, at any rate, the most careful scrutiny of these manuscripts of the 'Memoirs' and of the Diaries, with a view to their being given to the public. And I cannot resist expressing a hope that Lord Sheffield himself will take up and crown the work of his eminent ancestor by issuing a new volume of those remains which our great historian confided to his executor one hundred years ago.

In the meantime let every admirer of our great historian go to the Museum and try to recall him in the life as he lives on the glorious canvas of Reynolds, in the early likeness by Warton, which Lord Sheffield pronounced to be the best, even in the *silhouettes* and caricatures which give some features of his curious person. Let them examine that refined and careful handwriting which puts to shame our modern scrawls, the exact catalogue of his library, his warm and stately letters to his friends, and the long record of a life of indomitable industry, of literary activity, and of minute grasp of the most microscopic detail. It reminds us of those marvels of scientific invention, of that Nasmyth's hammer which can mould ten tons of metal or crack a nut. And the learned editor of the forthcoming new edition of the 'Decline and Fall' informs me that the more he examines the work the more his admiration of its minute accuracy of detail is increased by its combination of brilliancy with accuracy.

His monumental work still stands alone, in the colossal range of its proportions, and in the artistic symmetry of its execution. It has its blemishes, its limitations, we venture to add its misconceptions ; it is not always sound in philosophy ; it is sometimes ungenerous and cynical. But withal it is beyond question the greatest monument of historical research united to imaginative art, of any age in any language.

And to think that, one hundred years after his death, we have not as a nation made the smallest recognition of this

light in our literature whom foreign nations combine to honour. Our National Portrait Gallery, with between one and two thousand portraits of great and small, has no likeness of our great historian. Let us hasten to supply this conspicuous *lacuna*. No memorial, inscription, cenotaph, bust, or monument of any kind exists, I think, in any public place or institution. The houses in which he lived and died in London are not marked by any tablet ; and his body lies in a private mausoleum in a remote country church, little known, I may say, even to antiquarians and students, and wholly unknown to the general public. For my part I would venture to suggest that the house in Bentinck Street in which he wrote the first volumes of the 'Decline and Fall' might be marked by a tablet ; and perhaps the great house of Portland would consent to the renaming of the street in which he lived ; that an effort be made to procure for the nation an adequate portrait ; that the British Museum should be urged to obtain what it can of his books, autograph letters, memoranda, and papers ; that Lord Sheffield should be invited to give to the public those of the writings which still remain unpublished.

Might we do more? Perhaps not! But as a personal wish I will conclude by uttering my own hope that the bones of one who is so great a name in English literature should not for ever remain in any private mausoleum. As it is, his body is not buried : it is not under ground ; it is not in any way inclosed or cased in. It rests on a slab above the level of the ground in what is really a part of Fletching Church. It may be that our great national mausolea have no space that is available. But opinions no longer divide our ashes. And another thought occurs to me. Edward Gibbon was once a member of Magdalen College, Oxford, to which he owed, as he says, no obligation ; but which herself shamefully and wantonly neglected perhaps the greatest literary genius who ever graced her registers. He renounced his college and his University : but the faults were on both sides ; and death and a hundred years have effaced even angrier feuds. University College has at last taken back to her fold the memory

of Shelley, who had sinned against academic decencies even more than Gibbon. Is it, then, beyond the bounds of charity that Magdalen College should, as a second century opens, receive, I will not say more than a cenotaph, a memorial, a tablet whereon may be inscribed the name of one of the most profound scholars, one of the most learned historians, one of the most splendid imaginations in the grand roll of English literature? It would be worthy of that illustrious college, worthy of Oxford, worthy of English scholarship and learning.

THE ENGLISH *NOUVEAUX-RICHES* IN THE FOURTEENTH CENTURY

BY ALICE LAW

OF late years the attention of the most distinguished English and foreign economic writers has been riveted upon that remarkably sudden expansion of English trade and commerce which took place during the first half of the fourteenth century.

The problem is, How did the insignificant peddling English traders of the eleventh, twelfth, and early thirteenth centuries so suddenly develop into the important political plutocracy of the fourteenth, a plutocracy so powerful that at one time it threatened to furnish the English constitution with a fourth estate, that of the merchants?

What precisely, it is asked, were the fostering conditions under which English trade and commerce, which had hitherto remained clumsy, restricted, and antique, suddenly shook off its primitive garb and flourished on a brisk national and international basis?

Without presuming to offer any conclusive theories upon so involved a subject, I shall in the present paper merely venture to solicit your attention in the first place to the *drift* of certain well-known tendencies which in the period before us were peculiarly favourable to the accumulation of wealth and in the second to the consideration of some of the more particular and defined sources of mediæval money-making.

We may be quite sure that, despite all their practice of alchemy, in which we learn that Edward III. took a serious interest, the mediæevalists possessed few—if any—means of money-making that are unknown to this generation, and that

even as early as the fourteenth century we shall find a knowledge and application of methods very similar to those which on a more gigantic scale have furnished, and are yet furnishing, some of the most stupendous incomes of the present day.

This is to say, we shall find instances of wild speculation, and of the investment of capital in large trading companies ; we shall find compact unions of trade and labour opposed to a system of cheap fraudulent production, very much resembling the modern 'sweating system.' We shall meet with 'rings' in this sort of merchandise, 'corners' in that, and on all sides greedy monopolies of material, position, and opportunity. But of these later : it yet remains to show why all these workings did not come into operation before ; why, despite the fact that the native English commerce was a thing of long and ancient standing, some such development did not take place in the eleventh, twelfth, or early thirteenth century, instead of, as it actually did, at the beginning and towards the middle of the fourteenth.

A combination of several causes prevented, I think, an earlier expansion. In the first place, the English national character (the outcome of our geographical position in Europe) obviously blocked the way. The *bluntness* of the Saxon mind, which had not yet received its edge from Norman sharpness, made the early mediæval Englishman strangely unfitted for the practice of those fine and intricate commercial arts by which Jews, Lombards, and other aliens, thrived. The Englishman lacked the volubility, the persuasive 'quack eloquence,' which could vociferously shout all other sellers down. He was naturally averse to noise and clatter. He did not care to leave his shop, and we read how at Winchester the most stringent measures were necessary to enforce the town tradesman's presence at the great annual fair.¹

As the outcome of his insularity and dislike of foreigners the Englishman of this period was most startlingly ignorant of all those cosmopolitan methods of commercial and financial

¹ *Winchester Cathedral Records* : 2nd Charter of Ed. III., Introd. by G. W. Kitchin, D.D., p. 211.

exchange in which all the other civilised nations of Europe were at this time versed.

But the mediæval Englishman's narrow-minded prejudice was not confined merely to *aliens* properly so called ; he went so far as to stigmatise as 'foreigners' all merchant traders and others who did not belong to his own particular borough or franchise. It is, in fact, almost inconceivable to what an extent '*localisation*' then prevailed. It had resulted from the peculiar circumstances of our history that each town and district was fenced off from the other by a sharpset hedge of local feuds and jealousies, which formed a most effectual barrier to all mutual mercantile approach or amicable commercial exchange. Ely, for instance, was jealous of Cambridge, Bath of Bristol, Lynn of Boston, Oxford and Winchester—and, indeed, all the rest—of London.

But not only did his ignorance and inexperience and suspicious reserve prevent the native trader of the eleventh, twelfth, and thirteenth centuries from entering the commercial arena and fighting the alien intruder on his own ground, but there was a further and more serious drawback : he had no weapon at his disposal, nor had he as yet learnt how to make one.

It was, I take it, *this dearth or stagnation of native capital* which had hitherto paralysed, or at least stunted, the growth of native English commerce. The causes of this stagnation are not far to seek. Public credit was at a very low ebb. The insecurity of person and property during the unstable rule of John and Henry III. did not conduce to that condition of financial and commercial confidence which is indispensable for the production of a nation's wealth. In an age in which it was possible to pilfer the king's own treasure at Westminster¹ what security could there be for lesser men ?

In the absence of even the rudest banking system the only safe depositories of treasure were the monasteries, nor can it have always been an easy matter to recover sums thus deposited. The Church more or less discountenanced the

¹ *Vide Hall, Antiquities of the Exchequer*, p. 18 et seq.

appropriation of wealth for secular purposes, and in the face of her stern denunciation of usury there was little incentive to amass money. It is true that just at the time when, as the result of her greed and simony, faith in the Church's financial integrity was beginning to be shaken, the inauguration of the austere and magnificent Order of the Temple did something to redeem her credit and reputation. Of all the religious orders to whose keeping money was largely entrusted, that of the Temple speedily became the most popular. The strictness of their rule, their approved integrity and brilliant foreign service, inspired general confidence, and they soon threatened to rival the Italians in becoming the bankers of Europe. But not even the sanctuary of the Temple was safe from the freebooting instinct of that age. The first Edward 'carried away from the Temple by force a sum of ten thousand pounds,' while his successor, improving on his example, 'seized no less than fifty thousand pounds in silver, besides gold and jewels, which had been deposited in their treasury.'¹

But even putting aside the commercial insecurity then prevalent, it is not difficult to account in other ways for the paralysis of early English commerce. The two primary necessities of production were in the hands of the king or the feudal nobility.

The almost famine price of money made it a luxury in which only the richer barons could indulge; while what good money there was in circulation was clipped and disappeared, with the result that cautious men had recourse to the desperate and economically disastrous method of *hoarding*.

This tendency and the—to us almost inconceivable—spirit of narrow, jealous *localisation* which then prevailed prevented, I think, the free circulation of capital, so that for all *extensive* commercial purposes it was unavailable, and practically did not exist. A great part of it lay scattered in isolated pools and streams all over the country, and only

¹ Cunningham, *Industry and Commerce during the Early and Middle Ages* (2nd ed.), p. 254. Vide also Addison, *Knights Templars* (2nd ed.), p. 488.

awaited some great national impulse to converge and become a great and fertilising river. The remaining volume of it was either in the hands of the nobility—who in their crusading ardour had heavily mortgaged it to the Jews—or else it was dammed up in the quiet reservoirs of the Church, and particularly of the Temple, in all of which places it might have remained for another century had not a series of shocks, upheavals, and displacements caused it to overflow and burst the flood gates which held it prisoner. It was at the close of the thirteenth century that the sleeping waters of capital were first stirred by the upstreaming springs of vitality resident in the English people.

Intense jealousy of aliens tended to draw the nation together, and spurred the English capitalist to efforts for which economically he was scarcely sufficiently equipped.

The financial exhaustion of the English Jews during the thirteenth century is well known to you as a matter of history, and it was the knowledge of their impoverishment which induced the King to accept the Commons' (second) offer of a fifteenth—for their expulsion.

They were, as you know, hurried out of the land without giving them time to collect their debts, enforce their contracts, or make any provision for transferring their wealth and possessions. By their expulsion the lands of the feudal nobility were freed at a blow from the mortgages to which they were liable: the nation reaped a certain amount of plunder, while the royal officers confiscated to the King's use all the remaining property that had been left behind.¹

But another equally violent upheaval was yet to follow; within twenty years of the Jewish exodus the dissolution of the Templars crashed like an avalanche upon Europe, and the economic effects of their fall were probably greater than has been estimated.

Now it may be argued that the dissipation of the goods and revenues of the English Templars can scarcely have had the potency I claim for it, when, as is well known, in 1312

¹ *Vide Madox, History of the Exchequer* (2nd ed.), i. 261.

the Pope transferred the entire property of the Order to the Knights of Malta.

But although the persons and goods of the English Templars were arrested in January 1308, we know that their property was only after much dispute and litigation conceded to the Hospitallers in 1334, a period of 26 years, nearly a whole generation having elapsed, during which their vast revenues—or at least the greater part of them—were being continuously poured into the King's Exchequer. How, then, precisely did the fall of the Templars affect the English merchants? The only way it could do so was, of course, from the rapid circulation of their wealth through the incomings and outgoings of the royal revenue. We know the King distributed the lands and possessions of the Order largely among the nobility. Now, as many of these were extensive wool-growers at this time, this accession of land and property must have rapidly fostered their accumulation of wealth.

The rest of the manors were, as you know, rented or farmed out to large landed proprietors in every county, who without doubt made a considerable profit out of them; otherwise it is difficult to account for their extreme unwillingness to relinquish them—even at the King's command.

A few manors were even given directly to the merchants, but, as these do not appear to have been natives, their acquisition of such wealth does not affect the present question.

Apart from the fact that the plunder of the Jews and Templars came at an opportune moment for purposes of trade and investment, I should like to point out how the withdrawal and destruction of two such prominent bodies of capitalists affected native financial enterprise in quite a different way. They made a breach in the economic structure which only the municipalities could fill.

The violent downrush of capital which accompanied the fall of the Templars was an alarming spectacle to those who could not at first follow the ultimate direction of its flow. Its primary effect must have been to create a sort of panic

in the money market of that day. If the Templars could fall, who could be relied upon to stand? Obviously, less prominent depositories of wealth must be sought—depositories which, by their humble obscurity, could not excite either royal or baronial cupidity. Even the *gilda aurifabrorum* was somewhat too prosperous—too *plunderable*—to be reliable. The Italians were out of the question, and the inconvenience attending the Church's guardianship of money made business men look very shyly in that direction.

There was one alternative: the merchants and town traders must serve as their own and each other's bankers. The local organisation of a town council composed of the richest merchant dealers was admirably suited for the purpose. A trader could entrust his capital to his brother traders, who, both in their private business and public municipal capacity, became security for its safety. Little by little these primitive joint-stock companies were becoming the commercial order of the day.

The growth of the towns and the close corporate character of the rising municipalities afford further proof of the increasing self-sufficiency of the burgher and small trading class. From the time when the town took upon itself to compound directly for its own *ferm* it must have possessed a healthy, growing nucleus of capital which lay entirely at its own disposal.

The fact that the long-standing feuds between the municipalities and the local Church or feudal dignitaries were more or less disputes as to the tolls of fairs and markets, or for the possession of land, seems to me to show how definitely the corporations had taken up the *rôle* of rival capitalists and were competitors with the Church, the landed proprietors, and in London with the Lombards, for the possession of the national funds.

This merchant banking, then, the corporations largely obtained, and it seems to me that their extraordinary prosperity in the fourteenth century was due not merely to the vitality of Saxon methods of local government, but to the application of

those principles of co-operation and mutual financial protection they had learnt from the Jews and Lombards.

They tended more and more to become aggregates of closely protected capital, which served individual citizens all the purposes of a bank or large assurance society. As such the corporation threw its protecting panoply over its privileged members, supported their ventures, enforced their contracts, and everywhere asserted its credit and dignity.

A convincing proof of my assumption that the provincial corporations carried on a steady banking business in the early part of the fourteenth century is afforded by the financial importance to which they had attained towards its close, when, in spite of all local precautions and wearisome insistence upon their poverty, the king 'found them out,' and borrowed largely from the municipalities all over the country.¹

Having 'fleshed' their very maiden sword on the Jews, and seen the downfall of another great body of financiers, the native capitalists took breath before attempting more. Equally formidable antagonists remained in the person of the Lombard merchants ; but the unexpected crash of the Temple had, as I have suggested, enforced upon Englishmen the necessity of caution, otherwise the destruction of the Lombard establishment here might only result in the pulling down of their own houses about their ears. It was above all things needful to examine and secure the stability of their own foundations before setting to work to undermine the *alien* strongholds.

For nearly half a century, therefore, the English had to content themselves with glaring fiercely at their foreign rivals, who with consummate skill had entrenched themselves around the person of the King.

But, impregnable as seemed the position of the alien bankers here, the English capitalist of the early fourteenth century was stronger than he knew himself to be, and in the next generation he made very rapid strides towards the attainment not only of a national but of a royal recognition.

During the term of his long apprenticeship to the foreigner

¹ *Vide Devon's Issue Roll of the 44th Ed. III.*

the native trader had learnt not only how to forge the weapon of capital, but how to use it. More than a century's dealings with such skilled financiers as the Jews and Italians must have more or less revolutionised his notions of money-making, must have opened his eyes to the manifold advantages of their magnificent credit system. He had come to see how suicidal was his old-fashioned policy of 'hoarding,' and as openings for investment became more and more plentiful he began to be aware of the inconvenience of the lying out of his principal without receiving compensation for its use. In short, he was learning to see at least the expediency—if not yet the lawfulness—of taking interest upon capital, and although it took the country trader some time before he could entirely throw off his suspicions, not only of foreigners, but of all who lay outside his own township, there is abundant evidence in the contemporary records of the time to show that it was during the first half of the fourteenth century he first began to venture further afield with his wares and money.¹

And there were, among others, two particularly promising openings for native capital in the early decades of the fourteenth century: needless to say I refer to the coal and cloth trade.

The Newcastle coal trade was already at the close of the thirteenth century very considerable; and in 1281 we read that the town was so increased by coals as to be worth double the *ferm* it paid in King John's reign. The prohibition of the use of coal in London in 1304 suggests that it was very extensively employed at this early period. It continued, however, to be used, and in 1351, and again in 1358, the King granted licences to the burgesses of Newcastle to dig for coal. Ten years later we hear of two Newcastle merchants obtaining the privilege of sending coal, duty paid, '*to any part of the kingdom, either by land or water.*'

¹ For 'safe conducts' for merchants and their servants trading in various parts of the realm *vide* Patent Rolls, Ed. III., e.g. 5 Ed. III. Part I. m. 40, Jan. 30; m. 35, Feb. 4; m. 32, Feb. 18; m. 31, Feb. 14 and Feb. 18; m. 24, March 20; &c., &c.

The enormous profit accruing from the new cloth industry, which was introduced in 1331, is too well known to require more than mention. In the first year of its introduction, however, only the most enterprising of the native capitalists ventured to invest in it ; and it cannot be doubted that it was their close association with the local corporation which accelerated the fortunes of men like the Blankets, Cannynge, and other early Bristol cloth-workers. Even as early as 1348 we get a petition against the '*particular profit of the cloth-makers*,' and, as Sir Josiah A. Child pointed out in the seventeenth century, it was certainly their close corporate and co-operative character which accounted for the rapid rise of their successors, the *Merchant Adventurers*.

In London the strong and sheltering arm of the municipality¹ encouraged the timid retailer or master craftsman to exchange his comparatively insignificant peddling business for that of the large wholesale trader, who having purchased special export and import privileges shipped merchandise in his own vessels to home or foreign ports. Many of the wealthiest London citizens, notably those who were chosen to sustain the charges of the city magistracy during the first half of the century, seem to have made their money in this way. As early as 1322 we find Reynold Conduit engaged in a shipping partnership with John of Grantham, and joint owner in particular of the '*Catherine of London*,' a vessel valued at 300*l.* (I suppose equal to about 3,600*l.* of our money) and laden with cargo to an even larger amount.

Conduit, who was amongst other things a large importer of wines, must have profited largely by his shipping ventures, for he was elected Mayor in 1334 ; in the same year he was one of the King's chosen deputies in Flanders ; and in 1335 was nominated, together with Pulteney, to lead the men of London in case of invasion. In 1337 we find him exporting 30,000 sacks of wool to the King, and in 1340 he,

¹ Vide *Letters from the Mayor and Corporation, 1343, &c.*

with 136 other merchants, is summoned before the Council to treat for the purchase of the royal wools.¹

Similarly, Adam Fraunceys and John Lovekyn, both of whom were Mayors of London during the 'fifties,' were engaged in the shipping and carrying trade. Lovekyn was a fishmonger; but we hear of him trading in such opposite cargoes as fish and coal. In no trade was the change noticed above more significant than in the case of the Mercers, who now branched out from their small haberdashery business into a large wholesale commerce.² The fact that this company was the immediate ancestor of the Merchant Adventurers proves, I think, how largely their trade consisted of maritime and international trading, carried on in their own merchant vessels, sailing from port to port.

Drapery, too, was a very lucrative business, as is proved by the figure which John de Pulteney, that earlier Whittington, makes in the civic history of that time. Four times Lord Mayor, he is also a notable lender of money to the King. In 1331 it was 47*l.*; in 1333 he went shares with Geoffrey le Botiller to farm the King's debt of 1,528*l.* 9*s.* 2*d.* to the Gascon cities.

The Gild of Pepperers—who were one of the most considerable bodies of merchants in the city—were even at this early time extensive traders, and their vessels anticipated the voyages of the Genoese and Venetian galleys in bringing Oriental spices and other merchandise to our ports.

A very considerable amount of money seems at this time to have been made by sending agents up and down the country or abroad, with sums of money wherewith to trade for their masters' profit. The records of the time abound in such instances.

Still, although native capital was slowly circulating up and down the country, the more extensive channels of commerce—that of the wool trade, for instance—were as yet practically

¹ *Vide* Hardy's syllabus of Rymer's *Fœdera*, pp. 272, 279, 293, 314.

² *Vide* Herbert, *Hist. of the Livery Companies*, pp. 232-4.

closed against it. These the Italians alone were as yet privileged to exploit, and their monopoly was a source of bitter envy to the smaller native wool merchant. The Londoners seem at this time to have shrunk from investing in any larger enterprises than the inland and coasting trade to which I have referred. In 1340 the King gave them a chance when he tried to borrow 20,000*l.* from the city. But the timid corporation, led by the cautious Sir Andrew Aubrey, could only raise 5,000*l.*, and that after much delay and on the sufficient security of the royal jewels. Here was their chance to have bargained for a share in the Italian monopolies ; but they shrank from any such untried experiment, and for the present were content to continue in their system of small profits but more or less sure returns.

There was, however, a body of more daring capitalists, who, weary of the peddling and tedious methods of ordinary commerce, were determined on the first occasion that offered to compete with the Italians for the privilege of 'financing' the King. They had by the end of the thirties edged their way into the financial ring which pressed for the royal favours, and were ready at any given signal to 'jostle' the Italians.

The question was, Would the chance ever be given them ? But just when affairs seemed most desperate Fortune came down like the goddess in the machine, and gave them the very opportunity they sought.

The outbreak of the Hundred Years' War in 1338 was the great crisis which settled more or less for ever the economic and constitutional question of the King's financial dependence upon foreigners.

If the expulsion of the Jews in 1290 had afforded an opportunity for inserting the very thin end of the wedge, the great subsidy of 1339-40 was the occasion of its being triumphantly driven home.

It was the three decades and a half which elapsed between 1340 and 1376 which witnessed the rise, and in some cases the fall, of the English *nouveaux-riches*.

When the great subsidy of 30,000 sacks of wool was voted in 1339, and a further grant of two-ninths in 1340, it was to the *English merchants* the King offered the first purchase. This was, indeed, a greater opportunity than may at first seem evident. Any one who has read, in the appendix to vol. i. of Dr. Cunningham's 'Industry and Commerce,'¹ the list of monasteries whose wools were annually taken over by the Italian speculators, will readily understand how completely out of the market the English merchant had hitherto been; and if we also remember that these same Italians were by their control of the customs, and the consequent facility of transferring their own wools, easily able to manipulate the sale abroad, we shall realise how heavily even the largest English purchaser was handicapped.

It was probably some such consideration as this, the difficulty of disposing of the wools when purchased, that made the English merchants hang back from the purchase. Three separate times they were required to speak to the King and Commons, and finally were summoned by name from the cities and boroughs, and the sale of all other wools was forbidden till the King was served.

We have the names of fifteen merchants—chiefly provincials—who purchased some 3,000 sacks; and then, 'as no other merchants were forthcoming to buy the King's wools,' we read that briefs were again sent into the big towns and counties to summon more merchants to treat with the King's Council for the purchase of the wools.

Now it is just here, I think, that we come upon the origin of the *nouveaux-riches*. They are not mentioned by name, but it is obvious from subsequent references that a certain party of them—among whom two, Walter of Chiriton and John of Wesenham, were especially prominent—came forward and contracted for the royal wools upon certain conditions. Whatever they may have been precisely, they were certainly prejudicial to the Italians, and savour strongly of a conspiracy suggested by the contracting parties, and connived

¹ Cf. also *Archæol.* xxviii.

at by the King, to ruin the Florentines ; for we learn¹ that in 1338, by a *coup d'état* similar to that employed against the Jews and Templars, the King caused the arrest of all the Italian merchants in the kingdom, save of the families of certain Florentine merchants to whom he was under special obligations ; and that in 1340 even these, the Bardi and Peruzzi, were summoned before the Council, to know of them ' what aid they would give for certain ' on the assignment lately ordained of them. They offered, as you are aware, a sum of some 28,000*l.* odd (which may, I suppose, be roughly estimated at something like a quarter of a million of our money), and counted on recouping themselves for the loan out of the collection of the ninth which had been given them for one year in six counties.

Now in 1343 the price of wool was, you remember, raised by statute. This must have brought an enormous profit to the English merchants, who had bought in 1340 at the average Notts price of $7\frac{1}{2}$ marks, and could now retail at the new statute price of 12 or 13 marks a sack. Besides it gave them a tremendous pull over the Italians and others who had bought later.

Either in gratitude for this stroke of protection or because they had already made huge profits, the English merchants, to the horror and indignation of the Commons, *now offered the King a private subsidy of 40*s.* a sack.*

What were the conditions attached to such an offer I have not been able to discover, but that it partook largely of the nature of a bribe to induce the King to get rid of the Italians seems probable from the subsequent course of events.

The King, who was deeply in their debt, had nothing to lose but everything to gain by their ruin ; nor do I think the English merchants were so deeply involved with the Florentines as to be materially affected by their fall. It seems to me that those who were chiefly concerned in the

¹ Stubbs, ii. 448, quoted by Kingdon, *Facsimile of Grocers' Archives*, Introduction.

transaction took care to get clear before the Italians stopped payment.

Certainly as early as 1340 Matthew Dast (whoever he was), to whom the King's jewels were pledged, got his 500 sacks of wool from them in payment of the King's discharge; and the rapid success of those English merchants who succeeded to the Bardi and Peruzzi's privileges is a sufficient guarantee that they at all events did not lose by the speculation.

The crash came, as all the world knows, in 1345, when the Bardi and Peruzzi failed for a quarter of a million of marks sterling ; and if any were the losers it was the poor merchants whose wools had been seized by the King at Dordrecht, and who, being refused payment by the Italians, had petitioned the King to make them an allowance out of the subsidy.

Upon the overthrow of the Italians it appears that this daring ring of English capitalists succeeded to all their monopolies, patents, and privileges, and proudly styled themselves the 'King's Merchants.'

They amassed their enormous wealth by the prosecution of just the same methods and artifices which had enriched their predecessors, and were guilty, if possible, of even worse speculations and extortions. They undertook the *ferm* not only of the customs, but even of the war subsidies, and in return for the ready-money payments they made the King they were allowed to take not only the legal custom of 40s. a sack, but any additional impost they might be able to extort from the extremities of the other wool merchants.

It is while reviewing the large sums advanced by these English contractors to the King (both at the first subsidy, on the two-ninths, and the subsequent subsidies of '51, '52, and '53, and even as late as 1363¹) that I am at a loss to understand Mrs. J. R. Green's statement that it was the Florentine merchants who 'lent to Edward III. the money which *alone* enabled him to carry on the war with France.'

¹ See Petition in Parliament, 1363.

It followed from their control of the customs that, while restraining the passage of all other wools, the English contractors could export as much of their own as they liked, and could thus 'glut' the foreign staples and command the entire market.

The pages of the Parliamentary Petitions of 1346-47-48 teem with the complaints of the Commons and 'poor' merchants against these plutocrats and reveal their scandalous methods of money-making. It appears among other expedients they had bought up the King's debts to the poor Dordrecht merchants, but had in no way satisfied them ; again, they had taken money in payment for the safe-conduct of certain merchants' vessels, but had provided none, so that the wools were—possibly by their very connivance—robbed at sea ; and they had even bought from the King the forfeitures of wools and other merchandise which belonged of right, and by royal charter, to the Mayor and Corporation of the Staple.

In 1348 the Commons accused them of having made something like 60 per cent. profit out of the farm of the subsidy ; that of the '20,000 sacks of wool which were levied . . . our lord the King, by the false "jettes" of the merchants, only got a third of the profit, although they levied much more by their subtlety, and have by this means disturbed the sale of the remnant of English wools.' Again, in another petition against 'singular grants not made by Parliament' we have a complaint that 'by this cause the merchants buy the wools cheap . . . and sell them dear,' and praying for the free passage of all wools.

In the petition of 1351-2 the same grievances are discussed, and we get a complaint of 'certain merchants against the customs and exactions of Walter of Chiriton and his companions.'

Such were the more obvious ways in which Chiriton and Wesenham made their money ; but a close examination of scattered evidence induces me to think that they made a very considerable profit out of the *Mint*.

There is, I admit, no direct evidence of peculation in

either case, but knowing in the first place how these *nouveaux-riches* scrupled at nothing that was likely to be profitable, and knowing in the second how very profitable *minting* was in those days, it seems highly probable they had a hand in some such business as the manipulation of the coinage.

A Parliamentary petition of the period¹ complains of this malpractice, and that 'those who had long practised the crime were become so wealthy.'

Now, although the name of Chiriton does not, so far as I am aware, appear in the list of officers of the Mint, the fact that his colleague and the partner of his ill-gotten gains was a warden of the Exchange in 1353 causes me to suspect he had some interest in it. Also the King's protection of Lotte Nicolyn, whose malpractices as Master of the Mint were complained of as early as 1347, and who was yet retained in office as late as 1353, seems unaccountable except on the hypothesis that he was a creature of Chiriton's. It is a suspicious coincidence, if nothing more, that when, in 1352-3, the outcry was raised against the royal merchants, Nicolyn was removed, and was succeeded by Anthony Bache, to whom the King had been deeply indebted for a loan on the royal jewels. This seems to point to the fact that the King knew the Mint was a source of profit, and as such disposed of it to the men who ministered to his financial necessities.

The *nouveaux-riches* appear at any rate to have been associated in the popular mind with the manipulation of the coinage, for both in 1348 and again in 1351 the complaint of the Commons against them is coupled with the petition that the 'said justices' who were to try them for their extortions should also 'enquire as to the false money which destroys the people.'

But frequent and importunate as were the early petitions against these royal merchants, they do not seem to have experienced the full weight of popular displeasure which fell upon the later speculators, who, tempted by their successes, made even bolder tenders for the royal contracts.

¹ *Rolls*, ii. 160.

The famous impeachment of Lyons, Elys, Peache and Lord Latimer, Adam de Bury, and others in 1376 is too well known to need long comment here. Richard Lyons seems to have begun his malpractices just about the time when Chiriton and Wesenham were at their zenith, for in 1353 we read of a certain Richard Lyons of Winchelsea—whom it is not difficult to identify with the later *nouveau-riche*—being concerned with Sir Ralph Cans in a very doubtful conspiracy to arrest and plunder John de Bures of an obligation of 3,043*l.* 7*s.*, due to the said John for the said Sir Ralph.

There was a John de Lyons also concerned in the fray, who was probably Richard's brother, afterwards in the service of the King of Scotland. There was also a James Lyons, serjeant-at-arms, we read, to Edward III.

Richard's peculations seem to have been very similar to those of Chiriton and Wesenham—the fraudulent farming of the customs and subsidies, including the evasion of the Staple at Calais with his own goods and the levying of illegal imposts upon all other merchandise.

In addition to these general charges is a more particular one of having made several usurious bargains at the King's expense, especially one agreement whereby the King was required to repay 30,000 for a loan of 20,000 marks.

He was also charged with having imposed four deniers on each pound of money sent over by the Lombards or other merchants. As an officer of the Mint, he had a great opportunity for peculation, because he was warden both in 1375 and in 1376, the year of his impeachment. It was through his agency that John Pecche, of London, had obtained the monopoly of sweet wines in the city, and an illegal custom upon the sale of every pipe of the said wine sold by the said John and his deputies.

An examination of the charges brought in this Parliament against Lyons and others reveals in what other ways the French war was a source of profit to speculators.

The royal right of taking a *purveyance* had, from its abuse, come to be a popular grievance. The King's officers

took what they wanted at the lowest possible prices. It was, therefore, open to the keener business men among them—and even among the nobility there were many such—to make the King pay heavily for what they had bought cheap. Even the sheriffs did not disdain to peculate, as appears by the complaint of the Somersetshire people in 1324 that the royal officers took corn at 10 deniers a bushel and retailed it for 15, making a gain of 50 per cent. on the transaction.

Although nominally done by the royal officers, these purveyances were frequently sub-let to merchant contractors, or middle-men, who doubtless made an even greater profit than the royal purveyors themselves. For example, in 1328 we read of Wm. Tracy, formerly sheriff of Gloucester, arranging with a certain Adam de Wye to provision the castles of Bristol and Strigoil; and as late as 1363 we get a petition that authorised buyers may not '*appoint deputies*'. Sometimes where a very hasty purveyance was taken it was, for purposes of speed or immediate convenience, directly farmed out to the merchants. In this same year we have a petition of a certain Fraunceys, merchant, concerning a purveyance made in France for the late king, and for which he had not received payment.

But the suddenness with which Edward III. crossed to France threw a great deal of business directly into the merchants' hands. Thus, notably in 1338, we hear of the merchants of Lynn and Barton-on-Humber contracting to provision the garrisons of Berwick, Edinburgh, and Stirling, for which they received payment in 1340 out of the subsidy. The merchants were also often required—as in this case—to assist in financing the government by advancing money to the King's officers. In this instance we find these same merchants advancing 380*l.* to the warden of Edinburgh Castle, and 288*l.* to Robert the chamberlain of Berwick.¹

The raising of troops, too, was a paying concern.² The Issue Rolls (particularly for the 13th and 22nd Edward III.)

¹ Issue Rolls, 14 Ed. III.

² Issue Roll; *vide* 13, 22 Ed. III. 29 Ed. III.

are filled with accounts of money paid to knights like William de Northwell for troops raised in the King's service, and in the 29th year, among many similar entries, the name of Walter de Wetewong, late Keeper of the Wardrobe and Grcom of the Household, constantly recurs as receiving large sums for supplying men and provisions for the war.

What particular opportunities for peculation these contracts afforded will be evident from the charges brought against Lord Latimer and the Sire de Nevill in the above impeachment. Lord Latimer had taken ransoms and exacted purveyances from the cities under his rule in Brittany, and against the Sire de Nevill it was preferred that he 'had entered into an agreement with the King to take a certain number of archers to Brittany, but had only provided a very insufficient number, and these mostly boys and of no use, *but nevertheless he had received payment for the whole number.*'¹ Disreputable and illegal as were many of Chirton and Wesenham's financial exploits, they served the important economic purpose of rousing a necessary spirit of *competition* among the English, particularly among the London, merchants. They even excited in the wary corporation a spirit of commercial emulation, for in 1351, and only eleven years after their rejection of a similar contract, we find them providing a *loan of 20,000 marks in return for the privilege of farming the customs and subsidy of wool, skins, and wool-fells issuing from the port of London.*

Early in the forties too the more far-sighted of these merchants began to be conscious of the advantage of meeting combination by combination, of opposing charter to charter. They saw the necessity of changing their narrowly concentrated *internal* policy for a broader external outlook, the necessity of organising their loose gilds and fraternities upon some definite trading basis which would enable them to compete with rival English or Italian companies upon more equal terms.

An admirable illustration of this tendency is furnished in

¹ Petitions in Parliament, 1376.

1345 by the organisation of the Pepperers Fraternity of St. Antony, which later developed into the wealthy and prominent Grocers' Company. For more than a hundred years the Pepperers had been influential in the city, and during twenty-one years of this period no less than nine of them had been elected to the mayoralty. They were at their first appearance skilled coiners, and as early as 1221 were connected with the Royal Mint. Again, both in 1311 and 1321 a Pepperer was warden of the Mint and of the Exchange; and this fact, taken into connection with their undoubted Italian origin, significantly accounts, I think, for their success and importance. Being already so wealthy and experienced in the management of a large and flourishing business, it may at first sight appear a matter of wonder that in the general rush and scramble of the 'forties' the Pepperers did not compete with the other English speculators to buy up the *ferm* of the customs and other revenues.

But the Pepperers presented a curious blend of characteristic English caution grafted on to their foreign stock of commercial ability. Their experience and foresight probably enabled them to see that no stable commercial enterprise could be established upon the shifting foundation of fraud and speculation upon which Chirton, Wesenham, and their companions had built. Besides, as I have to show, they had good reasons for keeping to the highroad of commerce, and eschewing the perilously short cuts to fortune taken by the other *nouveaux-riches*. Moreover the Crown's historic repudiation of loans and contracts failed to recommend the royal necessities as a profitable investment of hard-earned capital.

The cold way in which, in March 1340, the corporation, headed by the mayor, Sir Andrew Aubrey, a Pepperer, received Edward's overtures for a loan of 20,000*l.*, and after some days of negotiation cautiously advanced him but a quarter of the sum, proves, I think, that it was not by speculations on the royal revenue that the Pepperers looked to make money.

Quite the contrary : the aim of the Pepperers was, I think, *not to lend capital*, but distinctly *to borrow it*.

They were, in fact, angling for the large banking business formerly done by the Jews and Templars, and lately by some of the Florentines. And this, I take it, was largely the reason they chartered themselves under the protecting title of the 'Fraternity of St. Antony.' As a mere company engaged in risky speculations they would not have presented that appearance of calm, disinterested security which was necessary to establish their credit ; whereas as a semi-religious foundation they invited public confidence as a trustworthy depository for loans and bequests.

The precise date of their incorporation—some four months after the failure of the Bardi and Peruzzi—together with the stringent enactment of their Order 'that *none of our wardens incur risk beyond the sea, nor lend the goods of our Fraternity except at their own peril*' combine to colour the hypothesis that their object was to publicly register a protest against the speculating policy of the other *nouveaux-riches* and to qualify as a large banking establishment of the order described.

We know from the subsequent history of the company¹ that the bait was successful, and attracted large sums of capital, of which the interest alone was all that was required from them, while the principal lay at their disposal for large trading purposes.

A clerk of the company, writing in 1682, with a fuller knowledge than we now possess,² lays great stress on the wealth they accumulated by the loans and bequests of donors, and remarks that they were 'the most universal merchants that traded abroad . . . and, indeed, this nation and city do in great measure owe the improvement of navigation to these merchants.'

This evidence is directly confirmed by an entry in the company's annals for the year 1374—'Item, paid for armour

¹ See 'An Account of the Grocers' Company,' 1682, *Tracts on Trade*, Brit. Mus. Cat. 712, m. 1.

² The other MSS. of the Company having been burnt, together with their hall, in the Great Fire of London.

for the safety of our ships, 13*l.* 10*s.*' The custody of the King's *Beam* and their connection with the Mint also gave them large opportunities for amassing capital.

How extensive and wholesale was their commerce further appears from the jealous envy their wealth and monopolies excited, for in 1363 we get the well-known complaint of the Commons¹ against 'certain merchants named "Grossers," who not only engross all manner of saleable merchandise, but suddenly raise the price throughout the land . . . and by their assent they hold over all other merchandise until such time as the dearth or want of it is felt, and then they sell it at these high prices.'

I have dwelt at some length upon the Grocers because it was from the ranks of this company that the more considerable of the later *nouveaux-riches* were drawn, and because it is only upon some such lines as are suggested in the petition just cited that we can account for the almost phenomenal rise of plutocrats like Philipot, Brembre, Chircheman, and Walworth, or, although he was not a Grocer, of the famous Sir Richard Whittington, twice Lord Mayor of London. The petition further makes it clear that towards the close of the century the Grocers, departing from their earlier policy, were, like other capitalists of their day, drawn into the whirlpool of speculation which resulted from that unparalleled social upheaval the Black Death.

I do not propose to do more than touch upon a subject that has been sifted and pronounced upon by two such eminent authorities as the late Professor Thorold Rogers and Dr. Cunningham; but I should like to suggest that the economic effects of a pestilence that swept away at least a third of the living population must have been to favour the accumulation of wealth and property in the hands of a comparatively small number of persons, and consequently caused a greater displacement of capital than anything which either preceded or followed it.

Many of the survivors would quite unexpectedly inherit

¹ Petitions in Parliament, 1363.

property, whether by the revenues of deceased minors accruing to their guardians or just the contrary ; and the labourer or artisan who inherited the accumulated savings of deceased members of his family would get a financial start which otherwise he could never have hoped for.

The interesting and instructive case of Richard Spynk, whom in 1347 the Bishop of Ely tried to claim as his villein, born on his manor of Doddington, furnishes evidence as to the rapid rise of small capitalists of this class. Obviously Spynk was a prosperous tradesman, for he complains of 1,000*l.* damages done to his Norwich business by his enforced absence. Now, if this could happen before the pestilence, how much more likely was it to happen after ?

But the Black Death afforded an even greater opportunity to those who had both the capital and the courage to invest it ; years of panic and depression enabled them to speculate largely in raw produce, hold it over, and retail it at famine prices in the years of scarcity that followed. There can be little doubt that the grievous complaints of 1363 were directed against the 'rings' and 'corners' that had been made in food stuffs, and that the Grocers were among the chief offenders.

The rise in wages would chiefly affect the landed proprietors and those capitalists who had invested in the new cloth industry, and required a large number of 'hands.' But these manufacturers had hitherto profited largely from the depreciation of labour due to the feudal system ; and it may be inferred from their continuous prosperity that the demands of the wage-earners did not tell as a very ruinous discount on their principal.

Finally, one very important effect of the Great Pestilence was that, like the heavy taxation for the French war, common suffering and danger drew the nation together ; and local feuds and jealousies were sunk or forgotten in the presence of such a great and universal disaster. Thus indirectly the Great Pestilence did much to break down and

remove the barriers which had hitherto blocked so many avenues of commerce.

And now, getting away from the particular to the general, it will be seen how the period I have been considering was the occasion of a great economic opportunity. The Revolution of the fourteenth century (since we *must* have a revolution!), while *partly* social, industrial, and commercial, was in its main aspect *financial*.

The rise of the *nouveaux-riches* was simply due to the fact that just when the native trader had learnt his business, and had practically cleared all rival competitors out of the field, there arose on all sides of him exceptionally favourable investments for capital, and of these the paternal and closely protective policy of the third Edward enabled him to take ample advantage.

ALIEN MERCHANTS IN ENGLAND IN THE FIFTEENTH CENTURY

By MONTAGUE S. GIUSEPPI, F.R.HIST S.

THE purpose of this paper is not to discuss in detail the trade relations of England in the fifteenth century with other nations of Europe, but to endeavour to arrive at some conclusion as to the political and social standing of alien merchants in this country during the century by a consideration of the chief measures adopted to regulate their dealings. The insight which this consideration will give us into the nature and motives of the attitude then generally held by Englishmen towards these merchants will assist us greatly in arriving at some definite acquaintance with the economic theories of the period.

How important was the part played by the foreign trader and capitalist in English political history of the fourteenth century is now generally known. Mr. E. A. Bond's article in Vol. XXVIII. of the '*Archæologia*' has shown us what vast sums of money were borrowed by Edward III. and his predecessors, as far back as Henry III., from the Bardi, the Peruzzi, the Frescobaldi, and other Florentine firms of money-lenders. The attempt to repay them by assignments on the customs revenue of London and other ports must have been totally inadequate; we know, at any rate, that these firms ultimately became bankrupt, and that their bankruptcy involved Florence in well nigh total ruin. Yet the merchants of the Teutonic Hanse were ready to take their place and minister to the exigencies of the royal

expenditure. The privileges to be obtained thereby were great. We find one, for instance, of these merchants, Tide-mann von Limberg by name, in possession, during several years, of the valuable tin-mines of Cornwall.¹

But although the presence of the foreign merchant had become more and more a necessity to the Crown, the jealousy of the towns, particularly of London, increased in proportion. Mr. Riley's edition of the '*Munimenta Gildhallæ*' gives a sufficiently lively picture of the attitude of the Londoner towards the foreigner. The Rolls of Parliament for the period contain a multitude of petitions to the Government urging the enactment of various regulations intended to restrict the liberties of alien merchants. Above all, it was sought to limit the duration of their stay in the country, to prohibit them from direct dealings with other aliens and from all retail trade, and to deny them the privilege of owning houses of their own. On the whole, the executive was able to keep the townsmen at bay, but the accession of the Lancastrian dynasty, with its greater dependence on Parliament and its particular indebtedness to the citizens of London, corresponded, as we should have expected, with a great development, in the fifteenth century, of the restrictive policy favoured by the burgesses.

Not only were better facilities thus afforded by the weaker position of the monarchy to the carrying out of this policy of restriction, but Englishmen were prompted to a greater zeal in their efforts in this direction by the steady growth of their own trade during the century, with the result that it appeared both possible and desirable to the native to keep to himself whole new departments of trade, to the exclusion of the foreigner. The rise of the English foreign trade and the consequent interest taken in the national shipping are the distinguishing features of the commercial history of the fifteenth, as apart from the fourteenth and preceding centuries. The fourteenth century was drawing to its close before we find passed, in 1381 to wit, the first of those laws which, by

anticipation, we may call Navigation Acts, whereby it was sought to limit the import and export of commodities in foreign bottoms. The king's subjects were forbidden to ship any merchandise except in English vessels. The statute was certainly premature, for in the following year it was necessary to add a saving clause exempting merchants from the obligation to comply with the law in cases where English ships could not be obtained. The weakness of England in suitable sea-going craft thus indicated is illustrated during the fifteenth century in a variety of instances, especially in the dependence of the Government on foreign ships for transport service of troops destined for France. To take one instance : an entry on the Norman Roll of the fifth year of Henry V., releasing those masters of ships who had been chartered to convoy the English soldiers to the Agincourt campaign, gives the names of one hundred and sixteen Dutch vessels as against one hundred and twenty-two English ones. Nevertheless, the belief of the Englishman in his nation as not only a possible but even an actual naval power did not diminish. 'The king and his progenitors,' say the Commons in a petition of 1420, 'have from all time been lords of the Sea.' In 1436 the writer of '*The Libelle of Englyshe Polycye*', though fully alive to the difficulties of putting his policy into effect, urged the necessity of keeping the 'narrow sea' between England and France. The great increase in the business carried on by the English traders who formed the society known as the Merchants Adventurers, must have resulted in a corresponding increase of English shipping, and Henry VII., if we may judge from the complaints of the foreigners affected, was able far more effectively to enforce those Navigation Acts which had been little better than a dead letter at the commencement of the century.

Such, then, was the spirit which guided English trade policy of the fifteenth century. In endeavouring to estimate its effects on the position held by alien merchants in England, I shall consider :

- (1) Those laws which affected the business relations of

aliens in this country, especially those which were designed to enforce the principle that no more of the precious metals should be carried out of this realm than had been brought in;

(2) The various regulations by which it was sought to carry these laws into effect; and

(3) Such historical materials as we may have to help us towards forming an estimate of the numbers of alien merchants who at one time or other during the century visited our shores and to whom these restrictions applied.

(1) To take, then, the first part of my subject—namely, those laws which affected the internal trade carried on by aliens in this country. I have already spoken of the efforts of the townsmen under the Edwards to restrict the dealings of foreigners with each other and to prohibit them from all retail trade. I have said, too, that the weaker position of the monarchy in the following century permitted the greater success of these efforts. The varying conditions of parties in the reign of Richard II. were attended by corresponding variations in the trade laws. In 1387 aliens were restricted in retail dealings to victuals, spices, and such commodities as were included in the term 'small wares.' Nine years later, however, Edward III.'s policy of encouragement was revived, and foreigners were permitted to engage in both wholesale and retail trade in 'all things vendible,' the only prohibition being on the export of wines. But in 1392 the townsmen gained the upper hand. By the statute of that year (*Stat. 16 Ric. II., c. 1*), it was expressly forbidden to aliens to retail any merchandise save articles of food. This policy the Commons were determined to carry to still further lengths under the Lancastrian kings. In the fifth year of Henry IV. they obtained the enactment of a law which prohibited aliens from all dealings with each other. In the same statute the principle was enunciated that foreign merchants were to be treated in England in the same manner as Englishmen were in other countries—a principle persistently put forward during the century as a justification for the most stringent measures against alien traders.

There was one class of commodities on the supply of which it was always felt to be necessary that no restriction should be imposed. We have seen that in 1392, when the laws against the retail trade carried on by foreigners were the severest they had yet been, one exception and one only was admitted—namely, the trade in articles of food. In 1435 it was further enacted that any interference with aliens bringing in such goods would render the perpetrator liable to a penalty of ten pounds. On the other hand, the exercise of the right claimed by the citizens of London to fix the prices of victuals was one of the annoyances to which foreign dealers were subjected. In 1473, while the negotiations with the Hanse for the treaty concluded the following year were still pending, the merchants of the league asserted their privilege to sell their goods at their own prices. To this it was answered that this privilege had never included victuals.¹ Nor, apparently, did it include wines. In 1491 the same merchants complained that the Mayor of London set such low prices on Rhenish wines that their sale could bring no profit.²

The jealousy with which the Londoners guarded their privileges, and the consequent severity of the restrictions they imposed on outside traders, formed the subject of frequent complaint. It was not only aliens on whom this severity pressed hard. A number of English drapers and other merchants presented a petition in 1406 to Parliament praying that the disabilities under which they laboured in London in being permitted to deal directly with none but citizens might be removed. The request was granted,³ but in the following year the Crown was unable to resist the appeal of the Londoners that the old order of things should be restored.⁴ This interference of the citizens in every commercial transaction that took place in London appears as one of the many grievances set forth in 1485 in a petition of the merchants of Antwerp to the Archduke Maximilian.⁵

¹ Cotton MS. Nero B. IX. fo. 68.

² Schanz, *Englische Handelspolitik*, ii. 402.

³ Rot. Parl. iii. 598. ⁴ Ibid. iii. 613. ⁵ Schanz, ii. 184.

The power that the Londoners possessed to oppress foreign merchants was further illustrated by the fact that they managed to obtain laws for the protection of a special industry which had been started in their city. The development of an industry in wrought silk carried on by women of the capital led, in 1456, to an Act, which was continually renewed, prohibiting for a period of five years the importation of foreign silks. The Hanse merchants put forward privileges exempting them from this Act, and their infringement of it led, on their own showing, to considerable ill-feeling. It seems to have been the motive for one at least of those not infrequent attacks on their London factory. In October 1493, the Steelyard was invaded by a mob of some five hundred Londoners, who, after wrenching open the doors and wounding several of the inmates, set fire to the building, and would have plundered the merchants had not better counsels prevailed. A week later, the customs searcher entered the Steelyard and confiscated some silks of Cologne which he found in the chests, thereby damaging the merchants to the total amount of 210*l.*¹

A successful encounter with a Londoner in an action at law within his own city bounds must have been an undertaking of no little difficulty for the foreigner. The difficulty would seem to have been recognised by the Crown in the statute of 1435, imposing a ten pound penalty on the interference with aliens who imported articles of food; for a provision was added that in suits for offences committed in London, action might be brought in any of the surrounding counties of Middlesex, Hertford, Essex, Kent, and Surrey. Again, in the twenty-eighth year of Edward III., it had been enacted that in cases where an alien was one of the parties to a suit the jury was to be composed half of natives and half of aliens. But in 1491 the Hanse merchants complained that the cloth-cutters of London had so far set at nought the spirit of this law that in a certain suit in the Exchequer they had succeeded in electing on the jury aliens of various nations,

¹ Schanz, ii. 410, 411.

who would, as they had reason to expect, be favourably inclined towards them.¹

I have selected London and the disabilities there imposed on alien merchants for special remark, partly because that city was the chief centre of all the internal trade carried on by them in England; partly because the special position occupied by the citizens in the state, and their exclusive privileges, enabled them so greatly to increase those disabilities. Of the difficulties with which foreigners had to contend in the other ports of the kingdom we can form some idea from the oppressive powers exercised by the officials who were connected with the collection of the customs revenue. It is against these powers that many of the complaints set forth in the memorials which precede some of the numerous commercial treaties of the latter part of the fifteenth century are directed. Many of these memorials, existing only in continental archives, have been printed *in extenso* by Dr. Georg Schanz in the appendix to his 'Englische Handelspolitik.' The grievances seem to us often petty enough, but their very pettiness must have aggravated the sense of the injustice which they excited in the alien. One of the most ordinary complaints is the extortion of a variety of small fees. The Antwerp merchants complained, in 1485, that they were forced to pay threepence at Calais and another threepence at Dover 'pour argent capital et pour rachapt de leurs testes,' sixpence for the execution of the bond into which all aliens had to enter that they would purchase English commodities to the value of their imports, and sixpence on each piece of their merchandise 'visited' by the searchers. To prevent the possibility of prohibited articles being inclosed, they were compelled to carry all goods intended for export to officials appointed to superintend their packing. This meant the exactation of further fees, amounting, it was said, to six or seven shillings a package. Nor could they altogether avoid these fees by exporting only those goods which required no further packing than that in which they had been purchased.

¹ Schanz, ii. 401.

Among such goods were beer, tin, and butter, and on these, in consequence, additional export dues had been imposed.

The customers were also accused of using to their advantage the declaration which foreign importers were required to make of the value of their commodities. While they could refuse to accept this declaration as a basis for the assessment of the customs duties, they could, so the merchants complained, insist on purchasing any of the goods at such valuation. The representatives of the Hanse in 1491 complained of collusion between the customs officers and English merchants to profit by the information thus obtained as to the original cost of production of goods imported by aliens. Not only this, but the former were charged with intentionally delaying the issue of the cockets or official discharges for customs paid, and thereby enabling the native merchant to anticipate the foreigner in the market. The same representatives have a special complaint to make against the practices of the customers. They were in the habit, they say, before sending over any goods, of writing to their factors in England informing them of their quantity and value and of the name of the vessel in which they were shipped. This intimation the factors communicated to the customers, and when by some accident the goods did not arrive by the ship named, the duties were nevertheless demanded, and the merchants were thus held liable to a double payment.¹

As coming from the injured parties themselves, we might perhaps be inclined to regard these complaints as in some degree exaggerated. Yet the fact that they could be urged in all seriousness is no doubt an indication of the spirit in which foreign trade was then carried on. That foreign merchants were a class of men but little inclined to consider the interests of the nation from whose needs they reaped such benefits, and consequently to be treated with suspicion, was the belief which dictated most of the commercial legislation of the century. The conviction that they would, if not prevented, engross and forestall every commodity in the country prompted those

¹ Schanz, ii. 403.

vexatious enactments which prohibited them from dealing with each other and compelled them to put their goods to sale within a certain limited period after their arrival. Such suspicions were not likely to be diminished by the discovery of the means employed by aliens to obviate the increasingly oppressive export duties. Did they cut up the bales of cloth on which the duties were great and make them into garments, on which they paid nothing, the grievance was one which called for redress. The garments must be taxed according to the amount and quality of the cloth they contained. This was not all. They hid, or were suspected of hiding, prohibited articles of export in the folds of these garments. Hence the necessity for the official packer. The foreign intermediary or broker, whose services aliens were accustomed to employ in their transactions, was especially singled out for suspicion. Frequent petitions are to be found in the Rolls of Parliament praying that only men of English birth be employed in these offices. The charges against the alien broker are set forth by the Commons in 1422 : ' Several aliens, under the name of brokers, do use and exercise "chevance de usure," and do inform merchants alien of the privyty of the realm, and of all the ways and means by which they may enhance the price of their merchandise and abate the price of the merchandise of the realm.'¹

But by far the most stringent restrictions on the liberty of alien merchants in the fifteenth century resulted from the attempt to put into practice those theories of trade which belong to what is commonly known as the Mercantile System. The deficiency in the national coinage, and the dependence on foreign traders for the supply of the precious metals, led to the formulation in England of these theories for the first time, apparently, in the reign of Richard II. In the following century scarce a Parliament was held but the effects of the theory can be seen in one way or another in the laws therein enacted. The impediments presented by these laws to the gaining by aliens of any great benefits

¹ *Rot. Parl.* iv. 193.

from their trading pursuits must have been enormous. In 1390 it was ordered that foreign merchants were to purchase, within three months of making any exchange in England, English commodities to the value of that exchange, the total amount of such commodities purchased by them to equal at least half the value of their imports. The period of three months thus fixed proved too short, and on petition to Parliament in 1421 it was extended to nine months; but the attempt made the following year to still further extend it to twelve months failed. By the statute of 1400 foreigners had been permitted to carry out of the realm one-half the money they obtained. Two years afterwards, however, on the petition of the Commons, they were limited to such an amount only as was thought necessary to meet their reasonable expenses. This amount is stated towards the end of the century by merchants of France to have been held at ten *écus*,¹ and by the merchants of Antwerp at two pounds sterling.²

Much of the want of money in England had been attributed in 1390 to the vast sums which left the kingdom to swell the papal revenues. A series of enactments followed which required all future payments of this nature to be met by the export of English goods. A more direct expedient for swelling the quantity of bullion available at the Mint was adopted by Parliament in 1420. In answer to a petition it was directed that those merchants (the merchants of Genoa, for instance, and all those who passed through the Straits of Morocco) whose privileges exempted them from the obligation to visit the staple at Calais after their departure from England should hand over to the Master of the Tower Mint a certain quantity of gold or silver bullion for every sack of wool and every three 'picces' of tin which they proposed to export.³

(2) So much for the motive. We have now to consider the means by which it was attempted to carry into effect the policy of the burgesses towards alien merchants. The

¹ Schanz, ii. 526.

² *Ib.* ii. 184.

³ *Rot. Parl.* iv. 126.

successful expression of this policy could only be achieved by an exercise of the strictest surveillance over their doings while in the country. It was necessary that the customs officials should be entrusted with the most unlimited powers of examining the goods intended for exportation. This examination was not restricted to goods. Merchants complained that their persons were searched to their shirts. Special officials were appointed to assist in these duties. Foreign merchants were required on their arrival in the kingdom to enter into an obligation with the customers that they would observe the statutes forbidding the export of money and bullion or to bind themselves in the Chancery to this effect.

But the chief remedy against the infringement of these statutes was sought in the practice of 'hosting' all alien merchants, or compelling them to live during their sojourn in the country with Englishmen, who were to be cognisant of all their dealings. This practice was not a new one, but the stricter trade theories of the fifteenth century made its observance more and more necessary. Galling as it was to his sense of liberty, the foreigner must have resented it strongly, and its enforcement have thus become all the more difficult. Petitions, indeed, were frequent, complaining that it had never been carried out. At last, in 1439, Parliament resorted to more effectual means than had ever been adopted before, in order to secure the full observance of the 'hostage' statutes. It was enacted that all alien merchants should, within three days of their arrival in any town or port within the realm, report themselves to the mayor or chief authority, who was within four days of this notice to assign them suitable hosts. By writs afterwards directed to these authorities they were required to certify into the Exchequer a complete return of all the aliens who had applied to them during their year of office and of the hosts who had been assigned. The hosts were also directed by the Act to send transcripts from the registers they were to keep, setting out all the contracts entered into by the merchants under

their supervision. For their trouble they were to receive twopence on the pound value of all merchandise bought and sold by these merchants. Severe penalties were decreed for infringement of this statute: in the case of merchants refusing to put themselves under governance, of imprisonment and fine at the king's pleasure; in the case of mayors or other authorities, a fine of twenty pounds for every alien merchant suffered to go at large, and in the case of hosts refusing to perform their duties when called upon, a fine of ten pounds for every refusal. The Hanse merchants were excepted from the obligation of this statute, and, in the case of others, the king reserved his discretion to exempt merchants with whose nations he had made or might make alliances.

In accordance with the regulations thus laid down, there exists among the miscellaneous records of the Exchequer a quantity of documents which throw considerable light on the numbers of alien merchants who annually visited this country and on the nature of their transactions. These documents consist of two classes: first, the certificates of the mayors, in which were set out the merchants' names and the dates of their application, together with the names of the hosts assigned them; secondly, the accounts rendered by these hosts of all the business done by the merchants under their supervision.

The mayors' certificates were sent in to the Exchequer in obedience to special writs issued therefrom. The only ports for which I have been able to discover these certificates are London and Southampton. That foreign merchants visited Kingston-on-Hull we know from the fact that there exist a few accounts of hosts from that port. That they also visited and resided in Sandwich is certain, not only from some of the entries in the Calendar of Venetian State Papers, but from the alien subsidy returns of which I shall speak later.

From the certificates relating to London we learn that from Easter to Michaelmas 1440, two hundred and forty-seven applications were made to the mayor, Robert Large. In addition to these there were some galley-men ('galeotti')

whose numbers and names are not given. Some of these galley-men and other mariners are, no doubt, included in the names that are given, for we find that one host, Stephen Stychemerssh, had no less than one hundred and twenty men assigned to his care, probably because their business transactions were not considered of a nature to give him much trouble. A few of the names occur twice, the merchants presumably absenting themselves from London for a short time to visit some not far distant town or fair. Except in the case of the merchants of Genoa, the nationalities are not given, and the varieties in the spelling of the names make it often a difficult question to decide whence particular merchants came. Including the mariners above mentioned, probably about one hundred and eighty-five were Italians, of whom thirty were Genoese. The remainder seem to have been merchants from the Low Countries, from France, or from such German towns as were not included in the Hanseatic League.

John Pattesley, who succeeded Robert Large in the mayoralty, in his account for the year, commencing on the feast of SS. Simon and Jude (October 28) 1440, gives the names of one hundred and eighteen merchants who were still residing under the care of hosts assigned by his predecessor. From April 18 to October 6, 1441, there were, exclusive of the galley-men, applications from thirty-four merchants. Similarly, Thomas Catworth, appointed mayor in 1443, accounts for seventeen merchants remaining under the hosts assigned them by Robert Large, and one each under hosts assigned by this mayor's immediate successors Pattesley, Clopton, and Hatherley. He had himself, during his year of office, to answer applications from one hundred and eighty-five.

At Southampton, from Easter to Michaelmas 1440, there were nineteen applications; for the year from Michaelmas 1442, twenty-eight; the number rose in the following year to fifty-one, but fell the next year to fourteen. Here, again, we find the same names occurring twice in the year. We may gather from the hosts' accounts that the merchants of Italy,

after landing their goods at Southampton, would sell what they could there and transport the remainder to London, whence they would return to freight their vessels with their new commodities.

The hosts' accounts are usually made out on a uniform system. The heading gives the names of the merchants and the date of their sojourn under the host's supervision ; then follows a list of the merchandise found in their possession when the host undertook his duties and the account of its disposal. If any goods subsequently arrived by sea, they are next accounted for. Finally comes the account of the purchases made of English commodities. If these latter do not balance or exceed the former, the host sometimes explains that the remainder of the money resting in the merchant's hands has been expended on such charges as freightage, cranage, and the like, or has been employed to meet the payment of the king's customs and subsidies, or of certain local dues.

It is therefore possible to make out a list from these accounts of the chief commodities sold and bought by foreign merchants, and this list may be given as an interesting supplement to the articles enumerated by the writer of '*The Libelle of Englishe Polycye.*' We find the merchants of Italy importing fine cloths of silk and gold, such as baudekyn, cloths of Damascus, satin, velvet, and tarterin ; gold of Venice and Genoa ; wines, ginger, pepper, cinnamon, and all other spices ; sugar and sugar-candy, woad, alum, and paper. A considerable trade also was carried on by the merchants of Lucca in armour manufactured at Milan. In exchange for these commodities the merchants purchased English cloths of almost every variety, principally cloth of Southampton, 'westerns,' kerseys, 'bastards,' and Suffolk 'streits' ; Cotswold and other wools, woolfells and worsted ; leather, tin, and pewter vessels. Merchants who came presumably from the Low Countries brought with them herrings, eels, and other fish, madder and teasils, useful in the cloth manufacture, iron and copper, oil and soap, onions and garlic, paving-stones,

nails, glass, felt hats, and other haberdashery wares, and purchased cloth, leather, sheep and rabbit skins; wines, oats, barley and pease, beef and pork, butter, tallow-candles, and grindstones. Merchants of Spain or Portugal imported iron, kid and beaver skins, red wine of Biscay and liquorice, and bought ungrained cloth. In the account of the dealings of certain merchants of Brittany we find them exchanging wine of Rochelle for a couple of horses, for which they paid ten pounds, and for the king's customs and Southampton dues fifteen shillings.

Another question upon which these records will throw light is as to the position held by the hosts in their city or town. By previous legislation, customs officials and merchants carrying on the same trade as the foreigners in their charge had been declared ineligible for the performance of these duties. But it was necessary that the hosts should be responsible men who would have the interests of their community at heart. In the mayor of London's certificate for the year 1440, we find a Robert Clopton appointed host to two Genoese merchants and their clerks. This was probably the same Robert Clopton who became mayor in 1441. Similarly at Southampton, Peter Jamys, mayor in 1442, acted as a host in the years 1440, 1444, and 1445, and his immediate predecessor, John Emory, renders his account in the year of his mayoralty as a self-appointed host to some merchants of Spain or Portugal. Only in two instances have I found the occupation of the host given, and this was when it was necessary to distinguish two Londoners of the same name, John Welles, the one a fishmonger, the other a grocer and an alderman.

Before the period of these documents, it had been sought to compel foreign merchants to dwell and carry on their business in the houses of their hosts and not in their own. A petition presented by the merchants of Italy in 1404, praying that they might take their own hosts and dwell in their own houses, had been rejected. But it is evident, from the hosts' accounts of 1440 and the subsequent years, that this

matter had been conceded to the foreigners, or was, at any rate, connived at. Thus Richard Riche describes himself as surveyor and host over the merchandise being in the house of John Michell, probably an anglicised form of Michaeli, and others, merchants of Lucca, and this is only one instance out of many.

Sometimes, when all the formalities had been observed and the host assigned, the merchants never appeared, and in lieu of his account the host had to certify to the Exchequer that he had seen nothing of his charges. The merchants of Genoa resolutely refused to submit to the regulation, claiming the king's letters patent of exemption to all merchants of their nation. When the hosts, in obedience to their summons, repaired to the houses of these merchants, they found them obdurate, 'although,' to translate the words of the record, 'they were inflicted with the corporal punishment of imprisonment by the mayor and with other monitions.' This probably accounts for the fact that in the first certificate rendered by the Mayor of London after the date of the statute, the nationality of these merchants was the only one which it was thought necessary to state. They probably gained their point, for they do not appear in any subsequent certificate, nor have I succeeded in discovering any hosts' accounts of their trade dealings.

The statute of 1439 was to continue in operation for eight years. At the end of this period it was not renewed. Indeed, I have been unable to discover evidence that it was strictly enforced beyond, at most, the first six years. It seems to have been the last serious attempt made to enforce the old 'hosting' regulations, although occasional references to the system show that it had not been altogether lost sight of even towards the close of the sixteenth century. But in the first year of Richard III., when the grievances against the Italian merchants in the kingdom reached such a climax that severe measures were specially imposed in their case, there is only one regulation which can possibly have reference to the practice of 'hosting'—namely, the order that foreign

merchants shall not be hosts to other foreigners save of their own nation. Here, however, in all probability the idea of the host is not that of an overseer, but a reference is made to the practice we have seen existed of several foreign merchants residing together under the roof of one of their number.

(3) The remaining point I proposed to discuss was the total number of alien traders in England. The mayors' certificates of the hosts they had assigned to the foreigners enable us, we have seen, to form some estimate of the number of alien merchants who were accustomed annually to visit this country. A few years later the evidence furnished by these certificates is supplemented by the returns made by the sheriffs to the poll-taxes, which were a new imposition on foreigners. I have prepared tables setting out the numbers and nationalities of all the merchants whom I could find thus returned, but some explanation is necessary here as to the nature and incidence of these taxes.

The claims of the burgesses that the foreigners who dwelt within their walls, and shared many of their privileges, should share also some part of the taxation to which they themselves were subject were of long standing. In 1343 Edward III. had so far yielded to their wishes in this matter as to enact that all foreign merchants who resided in the kingdom for a longer period than the then regulation forty days should forego their freedom from taxation.¹ But nearly a century elapsed before we have, in 1439, the first attempt to exact a poll-tax at special rates on aliens. In this year the king was granted a subsidy, to be collected for three years, of 16*d.* a year on every alien householder, and of 6*d.* on every alien not a householder. In 1441 this subsidy was renewed for a further term of two years. From the first grant natives of Wales, foreign women married to Englishmen or Welshmen, children under the age of twelve years, naturalised foreigners, and foreign professors of religious orders, were alone exempted. To these exemptions were

¹ *Rot. Parl.* ii. 137.

added, in the second grant, natives of Ireland, Jersey, and Guernsey. The Parliament of 1448-49 again granted these subsidies. But for the first time alien merchants were included, higher rates being levied on them. From every merchant being a Venetian, Italian, Genoese, Florentine, Milanese, Lucchese, Catalonian, Albertine, Lombard, Hansard or Prussian, and residing within the realm, the sum of 6*s.* 8*d.* was exacted, and from all foreign clerks or factors employed by these merchants 20*d.* On the other hand, further exemptions were made from these taxes in the case of natives of the king's duchies of Normandy, Gascony, and Guienne. This subsidy was to continue in force for three years. Soon after its expiration it was revived by the Lancastrian Parliament held at Reading in 1453, when, although the rates on all other aliens remained the same, the rates on merchants were increased to 40*s.* a year for every householder and to 20*s.* for every other alien merchant or factor, or clerk of an alien merchant. Residence within the kingdom for a longer period than six weeks subjected these merchants to the tax. This subsidy, to be raised by half-yearly payments at the two feasts of Easter and Michaelmas, was granted to the king for his lifetime, a provision which Edward IV. accepted to the letter by continuing its exaction until the death of Henry VI., on May 22, 1471.

In considering the returns, so far as they relate to merchants, furnished by the exaction of these subsidies, it is necessary to remember that the merchant who came over only for a period of a few days or weeks is not included. We find no names of merchants of Holland or Flanders. Merchants of France, in common with other natives of that country, were exempted from the last two subsidies. The returns, therefore, do not enable us to form a complete estimate of all the foreigners trading in England. Nor do they seem to be complete as to the numbers of merchants actually resident in this country within the terms of the grant. In the Pipe Roll for the twenty-ninth year of

Henry VI., the sheriffs of London give the names of two Lombards, one Genoese, two Venetian, and three Easterling merchants who had not paid the tax of 6*s.* 8*d.* The names of these merchants do not appear in the inquisitions, which, taken yearly, profess to give a complete return of all *aliens* resident in the city and subject to the payment of the subsidy. Six of these merchants are finally relegated to the desperate debts entered on the Exannual Roll of the Exchequer, while one of them, an Easterling, would appear from the Pipe Roll of 32 Henry VI. to have at last paid the tax.

Only in the three towns of London, Southampton and Sandwich do alien merchants appear to have been resident ; excepting that, in the year 1451, we find five Italian merchants and their six clerks dwelling elsewhere in Hampshire than in Southampton. In this town and in Sandwich, the merchants all belonged to Italy and for the most part in London also, where never more than one German merchant was returned as a householder. He was probably the alderman of the Gildhalla Teutonicorum, the other German merchants being regarded as his guests. Of these there were as many as forty-six in 1456 and twenty-eight in 1468.

Although the names of the alien merchants continue to appear in the inquisitions until near the expiration of the subsidy in 1471, in the last years of Henry VI., and in the reign of Edward IV., the taxes of 40*s.* and 20*s.* on them were remitted by royal writ. While the sheriff renders his account of receipts from other aliens, he merely charges himself with the sums due from merchants, explaining usually that these had not been collected by virtue of the king's special writ.

In the last year of Edward IV., another alien subsidy was granted by Parliament. The assessment was calculated on a slightly different basis, although the rates of 40*s.* and 20*s.* on merchants still remained. All merchants of Italy, however, were exempted by a subsequent provision. The inquisitions

taken in the several wards of London during the short reign of Edward V. show the names of fourteen German merchants (Teutonici), all of whom are described as householders. No other merchants were specified. The return to a tax of 20s. on alien brewers and keepers of beerhouses the same year reveals the fact that there were then eight Germans pursuing this industry in London.

From this time on, aliens were generally included in the ordinary subsidies, but were compelled to pay double the rates paid by natives.

It would appear, therefore, that Italians formed the largest class of foreign merchants resident in England. This perhaps will explain to some extent the special bitterness of the citizens of London towards them. The merchants of the Hanse were not secure, as we know, from attacks on their London factory, but from the proceedings in Parliament it would appear that the antiquity of the privileges possessed by these merchants in this country rendered them too sacred to be tampered with by the Commons. It was rather at sea or on the shores of the Baltic, at Dantzig especially, that difficulties arose between them and the English traders. On the other hand, in the greater number of those grievances against alien merchants which found expression in Parliament, special reference is made to the merchants of Italy. So strong was the feeling against them that in 1456 a petty brawl, in which one of these merchants was concerned, led to the expulsion for some months of the whole of their number from the capital. In the first year of Richard III. a special statute was enacted dealing with them, but was repealed two years later by Henry VII.

The account thus given of the trade carried on by alien merchants, and of their standing in England during the fifteenth century, is necessarily imperfect. Diplomatic relations with foreign countries, the king's indebtedness, and, lastly, local jealousy, were the chief factors in regulating their position. Only of the last of these factors, local jealousy, have I here attempted to describe the directing motives and effects.

While I can claim to have put forward no new theory, I may perhaps be permitted to hope that the results which I have here embodied of a study of documentary evidence, to the best of my belief hitherto neglected, will help to elucidate much of what is already known of the subject.

APPENDIX

ANALYSIS OF THE RETURNS OF THE SUBSIDIES ON ALIEN MERCHANTS GRANTED 27 & 31 HENRY VI.

Merchants paying 6s. 8d.								Clerks and factors of merchants paying 20d.	
A.D.	Lombards	Florentines	Genoese	Lucchese	Milanese	Venetians	Hansards	Catalanians	Total
Mich.—Mich.									
1448-9.	18	4	15	3	0	7	0	0	47
1449-50	·	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	28
1449-50	·	·	·	·	·	·	·	·	13
1450-1.	?	5	9	1	1	6	2	1	27

SUBSIDY OF 31 HENRY VI.

COUNTY OF SOUTHAMPTON (HAMPSHIRE)

SUBSIDY OF 27 HENRY VI.

The account for the year commencing Michaelmas 1450 gives, in accordance with an inquisition taken at Winchester, September 20, 1451, the names of five Lombard merchants and their six clerks. This is the only alien subsidy return for the county wherein alien merchants are found residing outside the town of Southampton.

TOWN OF SOUTHAMPTON

SUBSIDY OF 27 HENRY VI.

A.D.	Merchants paying 6s. 8d.				Clerks and factors of merchants paying 20d.
	Florentines	Genoese	Venetians	Total	
Mich.—Mich.					
1448-9 .	—	—	—	—	
1449-50 .	—	—	—	—	No returns found
1450-1 .	—	—	—	—	No returns found
1451-2 .	I	4	I	6	3

SUBSIDY OF 31 HENRY VI.

A.D.	Merchants, householders, paying 40s.				Merchants, not householders, paying 20s.			
	Floren-times	Genoese	Venetians	Total	Floren-times	Genoese	Venetians	Italians
Mich.—Mich.								
1452-3 .	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
1453-4 .	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
1454-5 .	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
1455-6 .	I	4	0	5	—	0	5	—
1456-7 .	I	5	0	6	—	3	0	—
1457-8 .	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
1458-9 .	I	4	I	6	—	5	0	—
1459-60 .	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
East.—Mich.								
1461-2 .	I	2	2	5	I	4	4	—
Mich.—Mich.								
1463-4 .	I	2	2	5	0	2	I	—
1464-5 .	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
1465-6 .	I	12	0	13	0	0	0	0
1466-7 .	I	3	3	7	0	0	2	I
1467-8 .	2	8	2	12	0	3	—	—
Mich.—East.								
1468-71 .	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—

SANDWICH

No accounts for the Cinque Ports of the alien subsidy of 27 Henry VI. have been found, and three only of the subsidy of 31 Henry VI. Of these ports, in Sandwich alone do alien merchants appear to have been resident.

SUBSIDY OF 31 HENRY VI.

A.D.	Genoese merchants, householders	Genoese merchants, not householders
1455-6. East.—East. Mich.—Mich.	5	9
1456-8. Mich.—Mich.	3	3
1467-9. .	2	2

THE GILD MERCHANT OF SHREWSBURY

BY THE REV. PROF. W. CUNNINGHAM, D.D., LL.D.

LAST year it was my duty to lay before the Society the laws of the *Lichfield Gild Merchant*, which were of special interest from the lateness of the period from which they dated. To-day I have the good fortune to be able to introduce to the notice of members a roll of the Shrewsbury Gild Merchant, which is of exceptional interest from its early date. It has been transcribed with great care by Mr. C. H. Drinkwater, Vicar of St. George's, Shrewsbury, who has already printed several similar rolls in the 'Salop Archaeological Transactions.' He will shortly contribute to the 'Transactions' of that society a paper which comments in detail on the proper names, place names, and designations in the rolls. Into these points I shall not enter to-day, as I merely desire to call attention to the bearing of the document on a problem of very wide interest; I shall not attempt to elucidate its details.

Dr. Brentano's *Essay* made the existence of gilds merchant a matter of common knowledge; Dr. Gross's researches have placed a mass of information regarding the gild merchant within the reach of every student. He has proved that it was a very widely diffused institution in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries in English towns, and that the right to have a gild merchant was granted in many of the charters of the time. He has also shown that in the fourteenth century the gild merchant seems at least to fall into the background,

and that, considering its prominence in the earlier centuries, we hear wonderfully little about it. A very large part of the mass of gild statutes which survive date, in part at least, from this later period of partial decay, and not from the time when the gild merchant was a vigorous and highly prized institution. The fact that a gild merchant existed in many towns is all we know ; of whom it consisted, why it was formed, and what it did are questions on which we have comparatively little information, except such as comes from times when it was a moribund survival. The rolls which are here printed date from the early part of the thirteenth century, when the gild merchant was in the very heyday of its existence ; and the Society, by publishing them, has been able to make a valuable addition to the admirable series of documents already collected by Dr. Gross.

As a mere list of names, the roll now printed gives us very little light on the two questions, why a gild merchant was formed and what its functions actually were ; but the third question it seems to set at rest. It shows us beyond dispute of whom the Shrewsbury Gild Merchant consisted.

It so happens that this very point, in regard to gilds merchant, has been much disputed. The late Mr. Green, working upon and enlarging the suggestions of Dr. Brentano, put forward the view that the gilds merchant consisted of a comparatively small class of men of wealth and position, who were able to use their exclusive privileges to the disadvantage of the labourer and the artisan. This view of the situation has been adopted, with some modification, by Professor Ashley, who represents the twelfth-century weavers' gilds as groups of labourers who were forced into association by the oppressive conduct of the gilds merchant. Dr. Gross, on the other hand, has stated, as the result of his researches, that the whole of this supposed conflict is a myth, and that the gilds merchant, instead of being composed of wealthy merchants, in our sense of the term, practically consisted of all the inhabitants, dealers or artisans, who had anything to do with buying and selling at all, on however small a scale. Recently, Mrs. Green has

endeavoured, by the ingenious use of fourteenth-century analysis, to defend the views expressed in the 'Short History of the English People,' and complains that but little early evidence has been adduced in favour of the view she criticises.¹

Earlier evidence is now forthcoming, and it seems to me to tell conclusively in favour of the views which were put forward by Dr. Gross. The Totnes Roll summarised in the 'Report of the Royal Commission on Historical Manuscripts' dates from 1260, and Shrewsbury rolls of about the same date have been already published by Mr. Drinkwater. But the present roll, which was used by Owen and Blakeway and subsequently mislaid, takes us back half a century earlier; while we have also a second roll for 1219. It is noticeable that so far as the town charters give evidence the first permission to have a gild was not obtained till 1227.

It appears that the gild had existed previously, with or without authority, and was being reorganised in 1209. The nine persons named on the right-hand side (p. 105), against whom no fine is recorded, are perhaps survivors of the old gild. On the left-hand side is a list of thirty-one persons whose fathers had not been free of the gild, and who now entered it; they were charged 5*s.* 8*d.* each, and actually paid a first contribution of 4*d.* Then we have a list of fifty-seven persons (p. 106) who were foreign to the town but entered the gild; the ordinary fine was 6*s.* 8*d.*, but some of them were charged much more, and their first contributions varied, but 1*s.* was the usual amount. There is another column of sixty-one persons—foreigners, I presume—who entered the gild at the last session, on very similar terms. On the second membrane (p. 111) there is a list of 168 persons whose fathers had been members of the gild, and who were charged 3*s.* 2*d.* on admission—half the ordinary fee—at the fourth session of the same year, so that the total entries are 326. We also have a long list (p. 108) which contains a statement of the sums due from various members, usually 4*d.*, but often 1*d.*, and even 2*s.*, 3*s.* 4*d.*, and 5*s.*; there are 348 entries in this list. It contains some names that I cannot identify

¹ *Town Life*, i. 197.

among the candidates, although many of the candidates names occur as those of persons making payments.¹

It is quite inconceivable to me that these 326 persons were all wealthy merchants, who combined together to regulate trade in their own interest and to oppress the labourer. We know that at the time of the Conquest there were 252 houses in Shrewsbury, and that many of these were destroyed. Now, allowing for the recovery and growth of the town, allowing for the existence of foreigners as members of the gild, it seems to me that a body which was so numerous must have had nearly every householder, poor or rich, as a member.

This definite result might be inferred from the summary in Owen and Blakeway; I now proceed to the points which are brought out by the complete document. It is to be noticed that in a large number of cases the trades of the members are specified, and that this at least proves that the gild did not exclude dyers, butchers, fishermen, carpenters, shear-men, and so forth. It is simply impossible to account for so many artisans as members of the gild, if there were any such hostility on the part of gilds merchant towards the labourers as has been supposed.

Of course there are many names against which there is no designation,² and we cannot tell what the occupations of these persons may have been; but so far as the occupations are specified it is noticeable that only one wholesale dealer is mentioned; Richard the Grocer was, not improbably, an alien as well as a foreigner; he was a wholesale merchant who dealt in gross, or in wares sold by the large beam. In this capacity he stands alone.

There are, however, no fewer than twelve mercers mentioned as entering the gild.³ The mercer was a man who

¹ Some occur twice over, as 'Walter cum pannis,' who pays an unmentioned sum and fourpence.

² The trade appears to be noted where an additional distinction is required. Thus we have Adam of Foriet and also Adam the Mercer of Foriet (p. 108).

³ Twelve entered the gild; the fines of four are noted on the second membrane. Six bakers are specified as entering; four of these and another whose entry is not noted pay fines, Adam paying twice. Of four butchers specified as entering, only one, Robert Blund of the original nine, pays a fine of 8*d.*, as does Jordan, son of Robert Piscator. Robert Piscator and his son Galfred each pay 4*d.*

sold all sorts of merchandise by retail, with a small pair of scales. So far as the designations help us they give no colour to the opinion that there was a class of wealthy merchants resident even in an important town like Shrewsbury. The dealers specified were, with the exception of one non-resident member, mere pedlers, or men who kept what we now call a village shop ; it is far from easy to suppose that any considerable number of men of wealth and position resided in each of the little English towns which possessed a gild merchant.

The roll which refers to the fourth year of Henry III. is rather a list of members than a statement of accounts of any kind ; the designations are less precise, and it is not of much interest, but it contains a certain number of names of crafts as designations, and to this extent confirms the evidence of the longer roll as to the composition of the gild.

It is a satisfaction to me to find that the conclusions, which my friend Dr. Gross had reached by his careful researches, are confirmed by a document to which he had no access at the time when he was writing. The struggle between the capitalist and labouring classes in the towns cannot be carried back to the thirteenth century ; whatever the object of the gilds merchant was, the composition of this one shows that they were not formed in connection with a struggle of that kind. It is not till the middle of the fourteenth century that we find the rise of a class of native capitalists in London in such numbers that they could form their own associations. It is not till 1363 that we find a definite attempt to draw a hard and fast line by excluding artisans from companies of merchants ; at that date the labourer was prevented from rising in the world by being excluded from trading wholesale in the materials he used—say, wool—or the finished product—say, cloth. This severance of capitalists and labourers was a partial cause of the crisis in the City in the time of Nicholas Brembre. But after all it seems possible that, when capital has once arisen, the formal separation of these two factors in production may prove beneficial to each. The trader who lives by turning over his capital stands on a different

plane from the man who obtains wages for his labour. It seems to me that it is in the interest of both that we should not have a class of men who live partly by the profits of capital and partly by the reward of labour. The small master, who has two strings to his bow, can in some ways at once underbid other capitalists and undersell other labourers ; he seems to be the principal organ in introducing and perpetuating sweating of every kind. Hence, while, on the one hand, I note that the gild merchant of the thirteenth century did not consist of capitalists only, but of all sorts of persons, merchants and artisans who ever had any dealings, I also wish to point out that the severance of a merchant class from the artisan class, as it occurred in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, was not necessarily inimical to the interest of the average artisan, though it may have limited the opportunities of the more enterprising.

But this is, I fear, of the nature of a digression ; in returning to the early evidence which I have the honour to bring before you I cannot but hope that the members present will join me in expressing our obligations to Mr. Drinkwater for his assiduous labours in transcribing these rolls. He assures me that the slight discrepancies between his rendering of the headings and that given by Owen and Blakeway is due to the extreme care he has taken to secure verbal and literal accuracy. ‘Every doubtful or obscure word has,’ he tells me, ‘been scrutinised, not once, but many times, and every word to which the least suspicion could attach is now given in italics. In some places the ink has faded, and in others the parchment has suffered either from fire or some corrosive fluid. These places are left blank, the lines being indicated by dots, so that the number of missing words may still be calculated.’ Few men are competent to carry through such work as this ; and not all who are competent are ready to undertake such drudgery as a labour of love. We shall not, I am sure, grudge him one word of thanks for doing so carefully what some of us cannot do at all.

THE MERCHANTS' GILD OF SALOP.

THE TWO EARLIEST ROLLS OF MEMBERS IN THE POSSESSION OF THE CORPORATION,
A.D. 1209-10, AND A.D. 1219-20.

(*1st Membrane*)

§ Sā Sp̄c Ass'it nob.

§ D. iſt qui sūt In Gilda M'cand in bung' Salop' et quoꝝ pat' es pri' nō fuert i libitatib' Gilde Anno .xj°. Regni
Reg' I. et quoꝝ finis est .v. soꝝ .iiij. d.

§ Rič fit Alureð de Chotes .vij. d

Johnes fr ei' .vij. d. p'mo.

Thomas Hoo (*or* Hot) .vij. d

Roþ fit Walf malier .vij. d. p'mo

Witt Serich .vij. d. p'mo

Witt de Cholehā .vij. d

Roþ Tece .vij. d

Elias m'cer' .vij. d

Waꝝ fit Swain' .vij. d

Roþ fit Jermāi moach .vij. d. p'mo

Hañd' Blud' .vij. d. p'mo

Rič ferthig .vij. d

Walf fit Feel .vij. d

Clemēs pellip' .vij. d. p'mo

Roþ fr' er' .vij. d. p'mo

Witt Satherei .vij. d

Roþ fit Walf malier .vij. d

Johnes piscator .vij. d

Johnes Sulard .vij. d

Thurstan' Sulard .vij. d

Rič fit Rimild .vij. d

Roþ m'cer' fit Ade .vij. d

§ Sā Sp̄c Ass'it nob.

§ D. iſt q' p'mo int̄ueſt Gilda
Reg' I. et quoꝝ finis est .v. soꝝ .iiij. d.

§§ D. iſt q' p'mo int̄ueſt Gilda

Jord Whitemō

Thoñ fit Helote

Joh fit Jacobi

Walf fit Sāson

Roþ blud' carnifex

Jord kech

Galf' fit Roþ pisc'

Huḡ fit *m'ayðe*

Jordn' fit Roþ pisc'

THE MERCHANTS' GILD OF SALOP—ROLLS OF MEMBERS, *continued*

Gilb fit Wimünd .viii. d
 Regn blauet (*or* blanet) .viii. d
 Hañ Lorin .viii. d.
 Joh de Bruo'ne .viii. d
 Riç mineator .viii. d
 Ada fit Driw .viii. d
 Rannulf clubbe .viii. d
 Gilb' Bügi .viii. d
 Roß' Leff .viii. d

§ D. forisecis qui int'ueft Gildā et de fin' eoꝝ.

§ Philipp' m'cer' Dimid m̄a Iñ pac' .ij. soſt
 Adā Want' Diñ m̄a Iñ pac' .xij. d
 Wal' de Clun̄ .x. soſt Iñ pac' .ij. soſt
 Henric' q̄ fuit Serviēs huḡ de Wila Diñ m̄a.
 Iñ pac' .xx. deñ
 Riç minur Diñ m̄a Iñ pac' .xij. d
 Luarch' Walēsis. Diñ m̄a Iñ pac' .xij. d
 Johes pistor .viii. soſt Iñ pac' .ij. soſt
 Wala fit Thome .viii. soſt Iñ pac' .ij. soſt
 Roß' Joy Diñ m̄a Iñ pac' .xx. deñ
 Wifm de Clun̄ .xx. soſt Iñ pac' .ij. soſt
 Walter' de brainesford .j. m̄a Iñ pac' .xi. deñ
 Philipp' Serich' .viii. soſt Iñ pac' .ij. soſt
 Rad' de Wigorn' .j. m̄a Iñ pac' .xi. d
 Siward' de Newnhā Diñ m̄a Iñ pac' .xi. deñ
 Petr' pistor Diñ m̄a. Iñ pac' .xi. deñ
 Simund' fit Ade de Lôgedō Diñ m̄a Iñ pac' .vij.
 deñ
 Hug' b'ol'ot (*or* foliot) Diñ m̄a Iñ pac' .xi'. deñ

Ili int'ueft ad vltimā Assisā p'mo.
 §§ Adā pistor de Scā Julian̄ Diñ m̄a dabit .ij. s̄
 Adā fit thome Diñ m̄a dabit .xij. d
 Riç fit thōe ext̄nei Diñ m̄a dabit .xij. d
 Roß de Broy Diñ m̄a .xij. d dabit
 Thom̄ de Bicedō Diñ m̄a dabit .xij. d
 Lefwig' mineator Diñ m̄a dabit .xij. d
 Johnes marscall' Diñ m̄a dabit .xij. d
 Wař de Bicedō Diñ m̄a dabit .xij. d
 Riç de Westburi Diñ m̄a dabit .xij. d
 B'nard de h'ef' .x. soſt dabit .ij. soſt
 Ermulf' de Acton̄ Diñ m̄a dabit .xij. d
 Driw Carnifex Diñ m̄a dabit .xij. d
 Riç carpent̄ .x. s̄ dabit .ij. s̄
 Riç Scissor Diñ m̄a dabit .xij. s̄
 Riç vir Golde .x. s̄ dabit .ij. s̄
 Polle Bide Diñ m̄a dabit .xij. d
 Riç de Detton̄ Diñ m̄a dabit .xij. s̄
 Rob le tawere Diñ m̄a dabit .xij. d
 Ranulf Auri? Diñ m̄a dabit .xi. t̄

- Röbt mōach' Diṁ m^a Iñ deb³ .ij. sot' vj. ð
 . . . denal Diṁ m^a Iñ deb³ .ij. sot' vj. ð
 . . . de paris Diṁ m^a Iñ deb³ .ij. sot' vj. ð
 . . . Biiced . . . Iñ pac' .xij. deñ
 Petr' . . . Iñ pac' .vij. deñ
 . . . Diṁ m^a Iñ pac' .xx. deñ p'mo
 Diṁ m^a Iñ pac' .xij. ð
 . . . Acton^a .vij. sot Iñ pac' .xij. ð
 Ham' ca'nflex uif Diṁ m^a Iñ pac' .xij. deñ
 Nich' cograt' andr' Diṁ m^a Iñ pac' .xij. ð
 Joseph' turneator Diṁ m^a Iñ pac' .xij. ð
 Walt cū pannis Diṁ m^a Iñ pac' .xij. ð
 Rög de Wig' Diṁ m^a Iñ pac' .xij. ð
 Walt m'cer' inf' pōtes Diṁ m^a Iñ pac' .xij. ð
 Huḡ de p'sor' Diṁ m^a Iñ pac' .xij. ð
 Rög hō' mal' Diṁ m^a Iñ pac' .xij. deñ
 Rög carnifex Diṁ m^a Iñ pac' .xij. deñ
 Rög bacū Diṁ m^a Iñ pac' .xij. ð
 Simiūd' bacū Diṁ m^a Iñ pac' .xij. ð
 Philipp' bailard' .vij. sot Iñ pac' .ij. sot
 Rić m'cer Diṁ m^a Iñ pac' .xij. ð
 Rić pede Diṁ m^a Iñ pac' .xij. ð
 Petr' waggere Diṁ m^a Iñ pac' .xij. ð
 Rić g'cer' Diṁ m^a Iñ pac' .xij. ð
 Wit' le tum' .x. sot pac' .xij. ð
 Adā Scissor Diṁ m^a pac' .xij. ð
 Adā m'cer de foriet Diṁ m^a pac' .xij. ð
 Giſt cin'ard (or eu'ard) Diṁ m^a pac' .xij. ð
 Waſ vliniḡ Diṁ m^a pac' .xij. ð
 Witt m'cer Diṁ m^a pac' .xij. ð
 Röb gangelard Diṁ m^a pac' .xij. ð
- Walt Cruselage Diṁ m^a dabit .xij. ð
 Bald Eliot Diṁ m^a dabit .xij. ð
 Wit' niḡ m'cer' Diṁ m^a dabit .xij. ð
 Hoel' furn' Diṁ m^a dabit .xij. ð
 Alan' Loiboi Diṁ m^a dabit .xij. ð
 Joh' de Glowc' Diṁ m^a dabit xij. ð
 Henric' citaredor ad citarizand
 Bradoc' Diṁ m^a dabit xij. ð
 War' furī Diṁ m^a dabit xij. ð
 Swain' pistor Diṁ m^a dabit xij. ð
 Robf' furn' Diṁ m^a dabit xij. ð
 Rić cic' de pichfor Diṁ m^a dabit xij. ð
 Rić Vinēt .x. ȝ dabit .ij. ȝ
 Wit' de Cantelop' Diṁ m^a dabit .xij. ð
 Wit' fit' Roß molediū Diṁ m^a dabit .xij. ð
 Rić halb'g' Diṁ m^a dabit xij. ð
 Thom' m'cer' Diṁ m^a dabit .xij. ð
 Adā de hadenaſ Diṁ m^a pac' .xij. ð
 Joh' pistor sub Wila Diṁ m^a pac' .xij. ð
 Wit' serrator Diṁ m^a pac' .xij. ð
 Roğ carpent' Diṁ m^a pac' .xij. ð
 Rić cruche' .vij. ȝ pac' .ii. ȝ
 Héric' de he'p' .xx. ȝ pac' .v. ȝ p'mo
 Jothes Barū Diṁ m^a pac' .xij. ð p'mo
 Rić nig' carpent' Diṁ m^a pac' .xij. ð
 Matilda de P'stcor' Diṁ m^a pac' .xij. ð
 Rob fit' Roğ B'ose v. ȝ .iiij. ð pac' .vij. ð
 Edda ux' Aberti' v. ȝ .iiij. ð pac' .vij. ð
 Clemēs piscator Diṁ m^a dedit .xx. ð
 Ida filia Aldred .xxij. ð pac' .iiij. ð p'mo

THE MERCHANTS' GILD OF SALOP—ROLLS OF MEMBERS, *continued*

Hug turneator Dīm m^a pac' .xij. d
 Riç winepeni .x. sot. pac' .xij. d
 Alež pictor Dīm m^a pac' .xij. d
 Walf de S'fetton^a Dīm m^a pac' usq ad .xv. deñ
 Wilt pistor Dīm m^a pac' .xij. d
 Pet' rossell
 Riç de Akes
 Roþt m'cer' Dīm m^a pac' .xij. d
 Adā m'cer' de foriet Dīm m^a pac' .xij. d

(In dorso)

§§. D. fin.

Wilt fit Jeruas .iiij. d
 Riç fit b'n' .iiij. d
 Héric' de Acto' .xij. d
 Nichot de Chotes .iiij. d
 Wilt punch .iiij. d
 Riç de Westburn' .xij. d
 Roþ hag'was .iiij. d
 Godff fit Riç .iiij. d
 Riç fit h'b'ti pellip .iiij. d
 Hug scissor de Chotes .iiij. d
 Waf clech .iiij. d
 Wilt Ketto .iiij. d
 Riç fit Galf .iiij. d
 Héric' Kêt .iiij. d
 Wilt fit b'n' .iiij. d
 Nich agat .iiij. d
 Wilc'in sprügā .iiij. d
 Pain .iiij. d
 Roþ bid .iiij. d

§§. Rein' fit Rad .iiij. d
 Lauf fridei .iiij. d
 H'b't m'cer' .xij. d
 Philipp' fairwi .iiij. d
 Gilb Juñ .iiij. d
 Roþ blud' carn' .vij. d
 Hug fit büg m'cer' .iiij. d
 Gilb seruiens Riç' Villā .iiij. d
 Nich fit brü de Soltō .iiij. d
 Wilt fit Gilb .iiij. d
 Roþ P'de .iiij. d
 Adā Képe .iiij. d
 .th. meneret .iiij. d
 Roþ oulä .iiij. d
 Riç fairwi .iiij. d
 Jöf fibel .iiij. d
 Hamo Lorim .iiij. d
 Steph fit Alex .iiij. d
 Riç de Datto .iij. s

Hug turneator Dīm m^a pac' .xij. d
 Riç winepeni .x. sot. pac' .xij. d
 Alež pictor Dīm m^a pac' .xij. d
 Agnes uñ Wilti Aq'solis . . . pac' .iiij. d
 Waf . . . iru . . . v. soł
 Petr . . . tor . . . xxij. d
 Roþ Kech . . . v. s .xxij. d
 Siward' . . . tor . . . Diñ m^a pac'
 . . . d . . . bla

§§. Roþ Wisca' d' .iiij. d
 Alan' Wild .iiij. d
 Wilt pist' .xij. d
 Bald ellot .xij. d
 Wilt bulchen .iiij. d
 Joh läd .iiij. d
 Alan' fit Aleñ .iiij. d
 Wilt barul .iiij. d
 Joh aurif .iiij. d
 Rāñ aurif .iiij. d
 Rein' fit abef .iiij. d
 Wilt mac' .iiij. d
 Rog' coch .iiij. d²
 Roþ borei .iiij. d
 Hug fit Ine .iiij. d
 Swei pist' .xij. d
 Wilt fit Ine .iiij. d
 Walt' pist' .xij. d
 Roþ wāt' .iiij. d
 Adā caiok .iiij. d

Adā Joye .iiij. d
 Thādi .iiij. d
 Wilt eñur
 Galf pisc' fit Roþ .iiij. d
 Philipp' fit Jord .iiij. d
 Hug fit ham' .iiij. d
 Rein' Lorim' .iiij. d
 Joh fit hug' .iiij. d
 Héric' vigit .iiij. d
 Petr' villā .iiij. d
 Adā de foriet .xij. d
 Walf de b'nef xl. d
 Wilt serrator .xij. d
 .th. fit helot .vij. d
 Riç fit Roȝ brū .iiij. d
 Siward dodi .iiij. d
 Wilt fit Walf .iiij. d
 .th. fit hug' .iiij. d
 Andf tictor .iiij. d
 Adā m'cer' .xij. d de foriet

Wilc' budi .iiiij. ð	Sim' de lōgedō .viiij. ð	Huȝ fit maiȝ̄ .viiij. ð	Joh villā .iiiij. ð
Riȝ halþg' .xij. ð	Nich fit pet' .iiiij. ð	Rog hadeb̄ .iiiij. ð	Alan' fit Jord .iiiij. ð
Joh fit Aleȝ̄ .iiiij. ð	Wār de b'edo .iiiij. ð	Roȝ pīsc' .iiiij. ð	Witt fit ei' .iiiij. ð
Hug' colle .iiiij. ð	Joh de Glowē .xij. ð	Jord saeeli .iiiij. ð	Philipp' fit hug' foce .iiiij. ð
Riȝ pede .xij. ð	Wilc' nope .iiiij. ð	Walf fairwi .iiiij. ð	Witt furn' .xij. ð
Riȝ calpi .iiiij. ð	Sim' hilat .iiiij. ð	Wār furō .xij. ð	Huȝ de psone' .vj. ð
Adā Wideryard .iiiij. ð	Hēric' bibbe .iiiij. ð	Witt fit Jeruās .iiiij. ð	Clemēs fit petl .iiiij. ð
Waf Vlniḡ .xij. ð	Roȝ pictor .iiiij. ð	Roȝ fit marti .iiiij. ð	Hēric' scet .iiiij. ð
Waf fit Walf fit adon .iiiij. ð	Witt fit Nich .iiiij. ð	Roȝ fit pain .iiiij. ð	Gift búgi .iiiij. ð
Waf cruch .iiiij. ð	Waf fit Waf .iiiij. ð	Huȝ pist' .xij. ð	Hēric' fit Ine .iiiij. ð
Joh fit Joh fit marti .iiiij. ð	Waf deunaw̄ .iiiij. ð	Roȝ ruff' .iiiij. ð	Wiclin' fit Wifh ple .iiiij. ð
Rein' ruff' .iiiij. ð	Alan' Léte .iiiij. ð	Waf agat .iiiij. ð	Walf tipet .iiiij. ð
Witt fit pet' .iiiij. ð	Lucas fit Waf .iiiij. ð	Riȝ Vinet' .ij. ð	Jacob' fit marti .iiiij. ð
Alan' fit Ine .iiiij. ð	Roȝ ff ei' .iiiij. ð	Roȝ fit edwi .iiiij. ð	Clemēs fit euerard .iiiij. ð
Witt fit turstan' .iiiij. ð	Wilc' fit Witt wassel .iiiij. ð	Alan' beñe .iiiij. ð	Galf kec .iiiij. ð
Joh piscator .iiiij. ð	Roȝ de Broy .vj. ð	Witt fit Waȝ̄ .iiiij. ð	Riȝ Brucche .ij. ð
Witt fit Lemrich .iiiij. ð	Witt hope .iiiij. ð	Marti Kēpe .iiiij. ð	Witt fit sac' .iiiij. ð
Jord blank .iiiij. ð	Roȝ Joye .xx. ð	Adā fit Drīw .iiiij. ð	h . . . Bidi .iiiij. ð
Petr' bil .iiiij. ð	Roȝ bunet .iiiij. ð	Joh pilche .iiiij. ð	Petr' pist' .xij. ð
Roȝ Lumtor' .iiiij. ð	Roȝ bibbe .iiiij. ð	Adā pistor .xij. ð	Roȝ de Westbir .vj. ð
Hug' fit Witt bri .iiiij. ð	Witt Lunet .iiiij. ð	Andf' tupet .iiiij. ð	Hēric' borey .iiiij. ð
Adā fit Edwī .iiiij. ð	hildeb'ad .iiiij. ð	Hēric' de brustoll .iiiij. ð	Roȝ ḡgelard .xij. ð
Thoñ de bicedō .iiiij. ð	Walf Lunet .iiiij. ð	Rein' fit Rein' ruff .iiiij. ð	Riȝ fit Ric' Rim' .iiiij. ð
Riȝ scissor forisec' .xij. ð	Roȝ fab̄ .iiiij. ð	Riȝ cl'ic' .iiiij. ð	Sim' bacū .xij. ð
Alured' Wāter' .vj. ð	Riȝ de Akes .xij. ð	Th. coch .iiiij. ð	Roȝ bacū .xij. ð
Nich fit Umfrī .iiiij. ð	Roȝ fit Alex .iiiij. ð	Andegi .iiiij. ð	Thom' hoc .vij. ð
Roȝ Rassel .iiiij. ð	Ric fit Rein' .iiiij. ð	.th. infans .iiiij. ð	Joh Brucer̄ .vij. ð
Riȝ Sitte .iiiij. ð	Hēmig fit War .iiiij. ð	Nich scissor .iiiij. ð	Joh fit Roȝti filtot .iiiij. ð
Adā fit Witt malð .iiiij. ð	Galf' fit Edd' .iiiij. ð	b'nard' m'cer .ij. ð	p'mo
Cradoc .xij. ð	Witt cass etc' .iiiij. ð	Riȝ viç .iiiij. ð	Hoel' furn' .xij. ð
Roȝ Leff .iiiij. ð	Roȝ scissor .iiiij. ð		

THE MERCHANTS' GILD OF SALOP—ROLLS OF MEMBERS, *continued*

Gilb b'sebā .iiiij. ð	Witt putoc .iiiij. ð	Ric fit Reñ scissoris .iiiij. ð
Philip' fit er' .iiiij. ð	Witt viç .iiiij. ð	Joh de Bruōne .vij. ð
Gilb fit Wym .vij. ð	Witt cochet .iiiij. ð	Lefwīg min .xij. ð
Gilb menerel .iiiij. ð	ñbt fit Godfr .iiiij. ð	Heric' palm .iiiij. ð
Witt deubel .iiiij. ð	Jord fit Rob' psc' .vij. ð	Petr' fit pet' marti .iiiij. ð
Jacob' fit Jord .iiiij. ð	Waf fit Swāi .vij. ð	Rad de Wig' .xl. ð
Witt fit e'dan .iiiij. ð	.th. echeator .iiiij. ð	Rog' carpent .vij. ð
Driw .xij. ð	Driw .xij. ð	Philipp' baillard .xij. ð
Petr' coch .iiiij. ð	Ric carpent' .xij. ð	Petr' Waggef .vij. ð
Thurst' Suillard .iiiij. ð	Ric fi Andf .iiiij. ð	Sinñ fit thurstañ .iiiij. ð
Ric scissor fit Ric .iiiij. ð	Joh fit Jacob .iiiij. ð	Rog' pent .iiiij. ð
Joh de Chotes .vij. ð	Witt de Winȝ pist' .xij. ð	Thom fit Witt Wim' .iiiij. ð
Witt fit Rein' ruffi .iiiij. ð	Reñ m'cer .iiiij. ð	Wal̄ fit Derem
Steph' fit Ric .iiiij. ð	Witt ade sac' .iiiij. ð	Ida filia yohan .vij. ð
Thurst' .iiiij. ð	Bert' ms saceli .iiiij. ð	Nichot fit Ine .iiiij. ð
bertam .iiiij. ð	Hamo fr'ator .iiiij. ð	Ric p'de .iiiij. ð
Ric fit thurstā .iiiij. ð	Nich colle .iiiij. ð	Witt
Thom fit pet' .iiiij. ð	Witt Sucherei .iiiij. ð	Witt
Thom m'cer' .iiiij. ð	Joh turnar .iiiij. ð	Joh fit Ine po
Ric pouc' .iiiij. ð	Walf Sāso .iiiij. ð	Ric fit Ric Vill
Alan' fit Witt Rassel .iiiij. ð	th. fit Witt .iiiij. ð	Rog' ff ei'
Philip' clech .iiiij. ð	Hug' de parus' .xij. ð	Alan' fit Rob de Seltō
Brū fit Ric .iiiij. ð	Witt blud' .iiiij. ð	Alan' fit Leurich .iiiij. ð
Witt fit Waf .iiiij. ð	Witt oulā .iiiij. ð	Illi p'mo
Rog' Lolin .xij. ð	Ric bulle .iiiij. ð	§ Alicia filia Rob cal
Alan' Sitte .iiiij. ð	Witt ple .iiiij. ð	iij. ð p'mo
Nich fit Andr .iiiij. ð	Witt fit Hug' cact .iiiij. ð	Tibba filia pet'
Witt m'cer .xij. ð	Jord fit Galff' .vij. ð	vij. ð
Waf	Joh fit Pistor sub Wila .xij. ð	
.xij. ð alan'	Rog' Viñg .iiiij. ð	
	Petr' fit Witt .iiiij. ð	

Ric <i>iuſ</i> de yort .iiiij. ð	Wait cū pañis .iiiij. ð	Ric <i>Anglic'</i> .iiiij. ð p'mo
Petr fit brunig .iiiij. ð	Roſ brito .iiiij. ð	Roſ fit pet' fit Johis
Joh fit Witt .iiiij. ð	Witt bil ð .iiiij. ð	.iiiij. ð p'mo
de hib ^a .iiiij. ð	Witt Selo .iiiij. ð	§ Thom' pistor v. §
Roſ Saceli .iiiij. ð	Herb coif' .iiiij. ð	.iiiij. ð et ded' viij. ð
Hooſt fit Joh .iiiij. ð	Ric fit mas̄t .iiiij. ð	Henrič de Heſ' ^f
Petr' brech	Joh Bruceſy	pac' v. § Die Sci Laur'
Adā fit Witt Lib	Petr' scissor .iiiij. ð	p'c Gildā
Roſ fit	Joseph' .iiiij. ð	§ Isabela ux elie
Philip' bailard .vij. ð	Roſ fit Edwin .iiiij. ð	pac' viij. ð
	Philip' ascoe .iiiij. ð	Joh fr' ei'
	Roſ tawere .xij. ð	Hug fit Wili
	Roſ fit m ð	· · · · ·

(Very modern endorsement)

Rolls of burgesses from 11 John 1209 to 52
Hen. III. 1268.

(2nd Membrane)

§ D. Gilda Mercant burgi Salop' ad Quartā Assisiā Anno xj.^o Regni Reg^s J. in festo Sci Bartholom'

¶ D ill q^r pat' es fuet in Gilda vñ Assisiā D .xxxij. ð. appoīta^a et pacauēt .iiiij. ð.

Adā fit bogge .iiiij. ð

Roſ fit War̄ palm .iiiij. ð ad p'mā assisā

Joh Ladi .iiiij. ð

Thom' Witheryard .iiiij. ð

Rog' ruff .iiiij. ð

Rog fit Roſi ruffi .iiiij. ð p'mo

Adā fit Edwi .iiiij. ð

Galf fit cherri .iiiij. ð

Nichot fit Widie .iiiij. ð

Andř fit huſti .iiiij. ð

(In a more ancient hand)
Rott Gildž mercat' tempe Johis et Henr' filii eius
quond' Reg' Angli' vidʒ Ville Salop'

THE MERCHANTS' GILD OF SALOP—ROLLS OF MEMBERS, *continued*

Adā fit thurstān .iiij. ⠂	Witt fit Alāñ elici .iiij. ⠂
thom̄ fit huḡ blūdi .iiij. ⠂ p'mo	Witt Shitte .iiij. ⠂
Ric̄ fit thurstān .iiij. ⠂ p'mo	Rōḡ coch .iiij. ⠂
Joh̄ hag'was .iiij. ⠂	Gamel iunior .iiij. ⠂
Jord̄ fit War Botild .iiij. ⠂	Joh̄ Simbet .iiij. ⠂
Witt Lunet .iiij. ⠂ p'mo	Petr̄ fit Joh̄ .iiij. ⠂
Andr̄ fit hm̄ .iiij. ⠂	Rōb̄' Luneti .iiij. ⠂ p'mo
Petr̄ fit Witti palm̄ .iiij. ⠂ p'mo	Siward' dod̄ .iiij. ⠂
Herb̄ fit Walt .iiij. ⠂	Thōm̄ echenefot .iiij. ⠂
Petr̄' Villan' .iiij. ⠂	Andr̄ fit Segiñ .iiij. ⠂
Joh̄ fit Edward' .iiij. ⠂	Wal̄ de Chotes .iiij. ⠂ secūdo
Joh̄ canut' .iiij. ⠂	Rōḡ fit Aleñ carnif̄ .iiij. ⠂ p'mo
Godfr̄ fit Ric̄ .iiij. ⠂ secūdo	Huḡ scissor de Chotes .iiij. ⠂ p'mo
Wāf̄ clech .iiij. ⠂	Witt fit Witli fit pet̄ .iiij. ⠂ s'no
Witt fit Adehm̄ .iiij. ⠂	Heñiḡ fit Huniḡ .iiij. ⠂
Rōb̄ fit mart̄i .iiij. ⠂ p'mo	Henric' bene .iiij. ⠂
Witt fit mart̄i .iiij. ⠂ secūdo	Rob̄ fit pet̄' ordwi .iiij. ⠂ secūdo
Rōb̄ fit marli .iiij. ⠂	Clemēs wise .iiij. ⠂
Jacob' fit marli .iiij. ⠂ secūdo	Ric̄ Villain .iiij. ⠂
Rein' m'cer .iiij. ⠂	Huḡ fit hadeb'nd .iiij. ⠂
Rōb̄ bag'was .iiij. ⠂	Witt p'le .iiij. ⠂
Witt fit Regin' .iiij. ⠂	Rōḡ oula .iiij. ⠂
Nichof̄ fit V'mfri' .iiij. ⠂	Thōm̄ scissor fit Witti .iiij. ⠂
Witt fit Odon .iiij. ⠂	Petr̄ Bil .iiij. ⠂
Thōm̄ borey .iiij. ⠂ p'mo	Ada fit Willi milesand .iiij. ⠂
Joh̄ fit Witti pilche .iiij. ⠂ p'mo	Huḡ fit Godwiñ .iiij. ⠂
Petr̄ fit brum̄ḡ .iiij. ⠂ p'mo	Witt fit Hugoñ .iiij. ⠂
Hildebrād iuñ .iiij. ⠂ p'mo	Jacob fit Jord .iiij. ⠂
Rōb̄ borey .iiij. ⠂ p'mo	Witt fit Gilb̄ fit Wimüdt .iiij. ⠂
Rein' fit Abelot .iiij. ⠂ p'mo	Rōḡ fit Edwi .iiij. ⠂
Gilb̄ iuñ de Cholehā .iiij. ⠂	Wittm̄' deubel .iiij. ⠂
Philip' fit Walf̄ fairwi .iiij. ⠂ p'mo	Witt de hispan' .iiij. ⠂ p'mo
Wāf̄ fit Wañ botild .iiij. ⠂	

Rein' Seft .iiiij. ð	Waf barit .iiiij. ð p'mo
Joh fit Joh fit marfi .iiiij. ð	Waf puttoc iun' .iiiij. ð p'mo
Gilt menerel .iiiij. ð	Rob clech .iiiij. ð
Henric' midewint' .iiiij. ð	Hug fit Iuoñ .iiiij. ð
Joh Villain .iiiij. ð	Pain fit Seward .iiiij. ð
Witt oula .iiiij. ð	Hug scissor fit pet' .iiiij. ð p'mo
Riç poucer .iiiij. ð	Clemës fit petr' .iiiij. ð
Nichot fit Iuoñ pouc' .iiiij. ð p'mo	Thoin' infans .iiiij. ð
Hug fit hañ de foriet .iiiij. ð p'mo	Henric' fit Iuoñ .iiiij. ð
Alan' fit Iuoñ .iiiij. ð p'mo	Roð p'de .iiiij. ð
Robt' de Soltö .iiiij. ð	Herb' fillol .iiiij. ð p'mo
Roð Jagow .iiiij. ð	Nichot fit Riç chici .iiiij. ð p'mo
Witt Sprot .iiiij. ð p'mo	Joh fit Witt le t'anur .iiiij. ð p'mo
Witt fit Ine .iiiij. ð	Jord fit euerard .iiiij. ð p'mo
Witt Buleheuet .iiiij. ð p'mo	Witt fit Witti fremud .iiiij. ð p'mo
Witt fit Vler .iiiij. ð p'mo	Witt fit hug' .iiiij. ð
Robt' Wischard .iiiij. ð	Nigell' de Soltö .iiiij. ð
Lauñ fit Jeruord .iiiij. ð secüdo	Robt' cùpain iun' .iiiij. ð p'mo
Robt' fit Jeruord .iiiij. ð p'mo	Rein' fit Godwi ruffi .iiiij. ð p'mo
Roð fr ei' .iiiij. ð secüdo	Petr' fit Godwi .iiiij. ð p'mo
Witt fit Roð Luffe .iiiij. ð p'mo	Petr' fit petr' fit martin' .iiiij. ð p'mo
Witt fit Reñ ruffi .iiiij. ð p'mo	Roð fit
Joh de bosco .iiiij. ð	Alan fit . ex ruffi .iiiij. ð secüdo
Roð filloñ ganta .iiiij. ð
hþt filloñ .iiiij. ð
Roð Seruiës Hamoñ Lorim' .iiiij. ð
	Witt fit Joh fit foriet .iiiij. ð
	Henric' Borey .iiiij. ð

THE MERCHANTS' GILD OF SALOP—LISTS OF MEMBERS, *continued*

Waſ fit Godwi .iij. †
 Petr' fit Wiffl Adelm .iij. † secūdo
 Andr' tictor .iij. †
 Wifl fit Leurich .iij. †
 Adā pūchoſt .iij. †
 Thurstan' Bodl .iij. †
 Clemēs fit Euerard .iij. †
 Huſc cruch .iij. † secūdo
 Roſ fit Galfrid cherri (*or therri*) .iij. †
 Simeon fit thurstanā .iij. † secūdo
 Galfr fit Eddose .iij. †
 Hildebrōd junior .iij. †
 Thandi fit Galfr .iij. † secūdo
 Walſ fit fairwyñ .iij. †
 Rič fit f Walt .iij. † p'mo
 Roſg pi'tctor .iij. †
 Wifl fit Walſ fit huſ .iij. † p'mo
 Rič fit h'b'ti pellip .iij. † p'mo
 Petr' fit martin .iij. †
 Rein fit marū .iij. †
 Roſ fit pain .iij. †
 Wifl fit Waltū .iij. †
 Roſ de Cholehā .iij. †
 Joh poucer .iij. †
 Rein ruff' .iij. †
 Alan' fit Alañ talpi (*or calpi*) .iij. †

(In dorſo)

§§ D Vltimis qintaueſt assisā Gilde p'mo. Anno .iij.º Regni Reſ H. fit Reg' J. i caſtino ſc̄i Jacobi Ap̄li.
 Hemming' fit Warun' | § : : : :
 Galfr' fit Eduse | § : : : :
 § Petr' Scissor
 § Wilcin fit Walf vic'

Walf Brun	Wift puttoc
Ric scissor fit Ranulfi aurif	Reiner' le merc'
Roger' Rassel	Wift perle
Ric fit Roß pisc'	Wift hō Ade pistoris
Ric fit Ric Rimild	Wift Sunerei
Heric' Bibbe	Nichol' Colle
Wilcin' fit Waf ruffi	Helias cef'
Alan' fit Witti ruffi	Ric le crumpe
Bailiffs Acco ^{ts} 52 Hen 3	Hug ^g de Paris
	Walt fit Santoñ
	Daret (<i>or</i> Baret)
	Joh pistor sub Wila
	Hamo ferrator
	Alanus fit alexandri
	Ric Hutte
	henf de Selda
	Philipp' le merc'
	Thom ^g troit
	Wift albus
	Thom ^g bennt
	Wift culkin
	Petr' f Wiffi
	Jurden' f Galff' albi
	Warinus fit Svein
	Petr' fit Brūngi
	Rob de Westbur'
	Joh fit Jacobi
	Wift crassus
	Rein'us fit Abeloti
	Nichot fit Joh
	Ric hō Golde
	(A very recent endorsement)
	Alanus fit Wilot
	Joh turnator
	thurgar Bode
	Roß fit Gilbert
	Hamō Lorimari'
	Wift fit Warini
	Petr' Le Wagere
	Petr' Coch
	Ric fit thurstani
	Ric tailator
	Wift le mercer
	Thurstan' Suilart
	Laurenti' fit Regi'
	Ren'us fit Rad'
	Barthot fit Barthot
	Walf de Brainesford
	Petr' fit Godwini

THE MERCHANTS' GILD OF SALOP—LISTS OF MEMBERS, *continued*

Riç pede	Ric de Drettū	Rondolfs aurifaber	Petr' pistor
Roþ hagerwas	Hug fit Hug	Dña Jokes alba mentula	Hug fit Godwini
Wih le Kent	Gilbert Juuenis	Joh de Hib'nia	Joseph de Wila
Wih fit Bern'i	Ph Richemō	Roþ Wiscart	Hug de psona
Henřie Kent	Walf deunan	Alanus Wildegos	Adā Joie
Pain fit Sewardi	Wih Bettie	Witt Bulehenet	Sandi fit Galf
Nichot Agā	Thoñ le merc'	Joh fit Andree	Rein'us fit Godwiñ
Godfridus fit Riç fit tirri	Herb de frankeuila	Henř Sket	Varinus Furnator
Joh fit Johis	Philipp' de Rumaldshā	Walf pistor	Joh fit Gylwardi
Riç Herberti pm̄ntarii	Rob cisor	Brunnus pistor	Witt Longus
Riç le hauburgcr	Ric winepeni	Ric bacun	Witt fit Alani
Riç tangi	Hildebront Juuenis	Ric de Nortuñ	Warin' fit Witti
Wih Springan	Nich fit brun	Ada le Want'	Thoñ fit Hefewis
Joh fit Alexandri	Witt fit Gilbert	Roȝ coch	Ric fit Roȝi Brun
Warinus Vlīng	Adā Kempe	Roȝ ulning'	Philip' fit Jurdani
Reinerus ruffius	Roȝ pride	Henř fit Luoñ	Hug de forieta
Witt fit pet'	Warinus de Bikeduñ	Roȝ Sakeli	Andř de forieta
Witt le crumpe	Nich f pet' f Joh	Ric blundus	Petr' villarus
Rob Lunekin(<i>or</i> Luuekin)	Wille f Rog'i cuti	Adā Hareut	Johnes de forieta
Petr' bil	Gilher' hō Ric uillani	Witt Bareil	Thoñ blundus de forieta
Aluric' le want'	Warinus fit Warini	Alanus Hennehenet	Edwardus dodin
Philipp' clech	Riç fit Walf	Roȝ fit Edwin	Galf' f Rob piscatoris
Nichol' f Vmfrey	Thoñ menerel	Andreas fit Herni	Alan' fit Aveline
Adā f Witti	Thoñ fit Rein'	Roþ fit Martini	Witt fit suus (<i>sic</i>)
Adā fit Edwin	Roȝ pictor	Walf brun	Philip' hō suus (<i>sic</i>)
Warin' f huḡ crucch	Steph fit Alexandri	Jurdanus Sakeli	Herb Coifarius
Riç Le Rusmongere	Witt Vicecom	Warinus agett	Clemēs fit pet'
Riç Sitte	Witt f Nich fit Hug	Henř de Herford	Johnes villanus
Petr' fit Joh	John Sunbel	Henř pistor	Witt furnator
Alanus fit Juoñ	Henř Bibbe	Roþ	Galf Kek
			Roþ Gangelart

Rog' f Bartholomei	Witt f Witti russel
Alanus Slite	Rog' Bibbe
Rog' Lorimarius	Joh de Cota
Witt f Leurici	Witt cochot
Witt fit Odonis	Simon fit Rilot
Gilbert' menerel	Witt fit Ade p'sbur'
Jurdanus maye	Simon de Longedun
Joh piscator	Roger Culkin
Witt blundus	Witt de Colahā
Thom̄ hot . . .	Witt f Rob piscatoris
. . . bulbef	Rog' faber de Colhā
. . . Ruffus	Jurdan' f Roß piscatoris
Ric fit aynef	Alan' Lenten
. . . f Witti Brun	Andreas tictor
Waf' Joh de Bispestan	Rog' fit Walt f feirwi
Rob' Leff	Lucas ff ei'
. . . f fit Bernardi	Witt t'nator
. . . fit . . . as	Roß de Broy
Ric . . . r . . . ds	Walf Saddoc
.	Roß Joie
.	Witt pistor
.	Herb' fit Godfridi
.	Barthol Sakeli
.	Witt Lunet
.	Roß Bunel
.	Witt Leye
.	Ric fit Andree
.	Ric de wos
.	Witt Joye
.	Roß fit alexandri
Warinus Kempe	Witt perle Iuuenis
Joh pilche	Gilbert' Bungi
Witt fit Andree	Witt fit Euerardi
Clemēs fit Euerardi	Huffe de Wila
Witt fit osbēti	Witt fit osbēti
Ric crucche de fornet	Ric crucche de fornet
Henf Borey	Henf Borey
Ric	Ric
Joh fillof	Joh fillof
Howel furnator	Howel furnator
Roß fit Witt	Roß fit Witt
Suman' fit Gryffani	Suman' fit Gryffani
Petr' Imeting	Petr' Imeting
Thom̄ Lorimarius	Thom̄ Lorimarius
Walf fit Dorman	Walf fit Dorman
Johnes pistor	Johnes pistor
Ida filia Ydani	Ida filia Ydani
Nichot fit Yuonis	Nichot fit Yuonis

EXPLORATION UNDER ELIZABETH, 1558-1603

BY C. RAYMOND BEAZLEY, M.A.

ENGLISH exploration in the age of Elizabeth is one of the main lines of national progress. It is no longer a by-path of our history, it is more and more plainly connected with that essential development of English life on which our Empire depended and depends. For it was in the latter half of the sixteenth century that the New World in East and West, by sea and land, was fully revealed to our countrymen, as it had been disclosed to Italians, Frenchmen, and Spaniards in the earlier years of the same century ; the excitement, the hopes and fears, the boundless expectations, the astonishing achievements which had gone to inspire the heroic age of the countrymen of Columbus and Cortes, of Da Gama and Magellan—were all realised over again by the islanders of the Protestant North. Under Elizabeth ourforefathers entered into the fulness of the national renaissance—for which they had been slowly educated since the Tudor dynasty began.

To follow Hakluyt's own divisions, we have to look at the expansion of England in three directions—to south and south-east, to north and north-east, and to west. On all these sides the advance made under Elizabeth is so great as to dwarf all earlier efforts, though it is on the American or Western side that the development is most striking, novel, and suggestive. Yet we cannot forget that results hardly less tremendous were involved in the Eastern ventures of the reign. If between 1578 and 1585 the first steps were taken towards the settlement of those English Colonies which at last became the United States of America, the charter of 1600,

granted to the East India Company, is no less clearly the beginning of the English Empire in India.

The first English voyages round the globe, the discovery of the North Cape of Europe, of the White Sea, and of the Empire of Muscovy or of Russia, the opening of Persia, Tartary, and Malabar to English trade, the immense extension of English commerce and enterprise on the Mediterranean and African coasts; in the Newfoundland fisheries, and in the Guinea slave-market, the partial successes and daring achievements of our mariners in the Arctic seas, in the enterprises of a north-east or north-west passage to Cathay, are of only less importance than the beginnings of the American Colonies and the Indian dominion ; and taken together with these, they explain perhaps better than anything else, except our literature, why the age of Elizabeth means more to England than any other epoch. The victory over Spain and the Catholic reaction, the glory of the Armada year, is itself the outcome of the nation's development upon and over sea, as much as of a healthy, a supremely active life at home. It was at this time that England first saw what it could do, first laid hold of an imperial ambition. For as Hakluyt says himself, ' As in all former ages there have been men full of activity, stirrers abroad and searchers of the remote parts of the world, so in this famous and peerless government of her Majesty, her subjects, in searching the most opposite corners and quarters of the world, have excelled all the nations and people of the earth.'

First, of voyages to south and south-east, we have that of Robert Baker to Guinea, in October 1562, written in form of a rhyming chronicle,¹ which tells the story of the Negro robberies of the white men's merchandise and the desperate fight

¹ Which shows the novelty, even then, of this coast and its negroes to English sailors :—

And rowing long at last,
A river wee espy . . .
Into the which we bare full fast
To see what there might be.
And entering in, we see
A number of black souls,

Whose likeness seemed men to be,
But all as black as coals.
Their captain came to me
As naked as my nail,
Not having wit or honesty
To cover once his tail.

that ensued in some unnamed river of the Guinea coast. In his second voyage (November 1563) Baker reached La Mina and heard the natives talk Portuguese, but he was separated from his ships and passed some time in miserable captivity among the negroes.

Already in 1561, the veteran seaman John Lok had been ordered by the 'Worshipful Company of Merchant Adventurers to Guinea' to 'procure to understand what rivers and harbours there be there, and to make a plat thereof, and to learn what commodities belong to the places touched at,' but this voyage was put off.

Public interest in the profitable gold and blacks of Guinea was not allowed to slacken. On July 11, 1564, there is a meeting at Sir William Gerard's house 'for the setting forth of a voyage' to that coast, 'the success of which,' we are told, 'in part appeareth by certain relations extracted out of the Second Voyage of Sir John Hawkins' in 1564.¹ The 'success,' however, was not without a check, one of the vessels being blown up, and the flagship, the 'Minion,' beaten off with loss by the 'Portugals.'

Next comes the voyage of George Fenner. Starting from Plymouth December 10, 1566, with three ships, he made Cape Verde on January 19, 1567, where he unsuccessfully tried to open trade with the natives, but was 'very well entertained' in the island of Boa Vista off the Cape, 'by banished Portugals'—a convict settlement of some thirty exiles, 'and among them one simple man, their captain.' On the other hand, in S. Jago the Portuguese tried to surprise the strangers under pretence of traffic. Returning to England by way of the Azores, Fenner's men claimed to have returned this treatment by saving a Portuguese ship from pirates in mid ocean, 'notwithstanding their villanies.'

'The worthy enterprise of John Fox, in delivering 266 Christians out of the Captivity of the Turks at Alexandria' (January 3, 1577) can only be mentioned here, though it is as

¹ His first was in 1562. In both of these he used Guinea as a slave merchandise dépôt for his West Indian commercial schemes.

a story, one of the most stirring and brilliant of this time ; and in the same way the interesting ‘Embassage of Edmund Hogan to Morocco’ (1577) is only to be noticed for the evidence it gives of Spanish intrigues to prevent any such new openings of English enterprise, and of previous English broils with the Barbary corsairs and with the Emperor of Morocco.

Our next memorial, the ‘Letter of Thomas Stevens from Goa’ (1579), mentions English pirates cruising off Madeira and the Canaries, who attacked the Portuguese ship in which Stevens was sailing :—‘and I was sorry to see them so ill occupied ;’—describes the great rolling seas off the Cape of Tempests or Good Hope, ‘the point so famous and feared of all men ;’ and distinguishes two routes to India from Natal, one by the channel of Mozambique, ‘where ships refresh themselves,’ the other outside Madagascar when the season is too advanced for the former course.

Inside the Mediterranean, the Turkey trade was steadily pressed forward under Elizabeth, as under Henry VIII. In June 1580 the Charter of Liberties to English merchants in Turkey is formally issued : a year later certain disorders committed by English freebooters in the Levant are to be redressed : at the same time occurs the ‘Voyage of Lawrence Aldersey to Jerusalem and Tripolis.’

Further evidence for this Mediterranean enterprise is given us by Hakluyt’s Notes on the trade of Algiers and Alexandria. In Algiers, we are told, the surest lodging for a Christian is in a Jew’s house : ‘for if he have any hurt, the Jew shall make it good, so he taketh great care of the Christian.’

Again, the Journeys of Mr. John Newberie tell a story of English intercourse, not only with the Levant, but with lands as far distant as Bengal. Newberie started from Falmouth March 11, 1583, and reached Syria in May. His chief purpose was trade ; and for this he found Aleppo an excellent centre, as he sends word by George Gill, purser of the ‘Tiger.’¹ But at Babylon he becomes more despondent ; ‘I think cloth, kersies, and tin, have never been so low as

¹ Cf. *Macbeth*, ‘Her husband’s to Aleppo gone, master of the Tiger.’

now ;' he is cheered to think that cheap bargains may still be made in Indian goods. Beyond this his route lay through Bassora to Ormuz, where he writes 'from out of prison, for that, as they say, I brought letters from Don Antonio,' the pretender to the Portuguese crown, just annexed by Philip II. Sent on to Goa to answer, before the viceroy, the various charges brought against him, Newberie met Thomas Stevens, now a professed Jesuit, who procured his release through the mediation of the Archbishop, and enabled him to start a flourishing trade in Malabar.¹ With Newberie was also discharged the famous Ralph Fitch, who tells us the whole story of their persecution at the hands of Italian rivals, for the Italians, he adds, are our great enemies for the trade of the East.

Fitch reappears later ; for the present we must return to the Levant voyages recorded under the year 1586, of Evesham and Aldersey, whose accounts of the wonders of Egypt are especially interesting. Alexandria Evesham found 'an old thing decayed and ruined, all vaulted underneath for provision of fresh water, which cometh once a year out of the four rivers of Paradise, called Nilus.' The court of Pharaoh's castle reminds him of Gresham's New Exchange in London : the pyramids are one of the *nine* wonders of the world, 'built as it were like a pointed diamond, four square, and the height of them to our judgment doth surmount twice the height of Paul's steeple ;' in Cairo itself is 'great store of merchandise out of the East India.' Aldersey, after giving us his measurements for Pharaoh's needle and 'Pompey his pillar,' discourses pleasantly of 'Joseph's house, a sumptuous thing, yet standing, having a place to walk in of fifty-six mighty pillars, all gilt with gold,' and describes with the accuracy of the witness-box the breadth and height of the pyramids—'every of the squares as long as a man may shoot a roving arrow and *as high as a church*.' But the English merchants had to fight for their position in the Mediterranean ; as the private warfare

¹ The famous Dutch traveller Linschoten, who was in Goa at the time, also claims to have helped Newberie and Fitch to escape.

of Spanish and English mariners deepened into the open and legitimate struggle of two nations, the passage through the Straits of Gibraltar became more and more hazardous.

Thus in 1586 we have a 'true report of a worthy fight lasting five hours performed in the voyage from Turkey by five ships of London against eleven galleys and two frigates of Spain, at Pantalarea within the straits.' The English vessels, though 'intending only a merchant's voyage,' are now armed to the teeth: and their success in the Nearer, was now leading to more frequent ventures in the Further, East.

The voyage of John Eldred to Babylon and Bassora brings us back to the story of John Newberie and Ralph Fitch. Starting from London in their company 'upon Shrove Monday' 1583, he separated from them in Syria (May 1, 1583,) and traded some time in Tripolis, 'about the bigness of Bristol,' where all Englishmen had to 'abide in one house' with their consul, 'in manner like a cloister, every man having his chamber, as is the use of all other Christians of several nations.' From Tripolis Eldred went (May 21, 1583) with a caravan over Lebanon to Aleppo, 'the greatest place of traffic for a dry town in all those parts.' Leaving Aleppo with Newberie, he embarked (May 31) upon the Euphrates at Birrah, 'where he beginneth to take his name,' and after a month's journey 'took land' again and crossed a short desert to New Babylon. The voyage had to be made in flat-bottomed boats, for the shallowness of the water: every day after sunset they tied their bark to a stake, went on land to gather sticks and set on the pot with rice or bruised wheat. Having supped, the merchants lay on board, and the mariners upon the shore hard by. The Euphrates at Birrah Eldred thought 'about the breadth of the Thames at Lambeth, running very swiftly, almost as fast as the river of Trent.'

In the desert the travellers saw the ruins of the ancient city, 'which I John Eldred have often beheld at my good leisure,' with the 'old tower of Babel, almost as high as the stonework of Paul's steeple in London.' New Babylon on the Tigris he found to be 'a place of great traffic and a

thoroughfare from the East Indies to Aleppo, furnished with victuals from Mosul, called Nineveh in old time, which are brought on rafts borne on bladders of goats' skins.¹ In 1584 Eldred was in Bassora, 'built of sun-dried bricks and having a good port, where come monthly ships from Ormuz, with Indian merchandise, which ships are sewn together with cord made of the bark of date-trees, having no kind of ironwork, save only their anchors.'

Here Eldred heard of Newberie's arrest, and after finishing his business in Bassora, struggled up the river for forty-four days to Babylon, and thence made his way back to Aleppo overland, with a caravan of 4,000 camels. On his way the Englishman noticed the 'springs of tar' (bitumen) near the Euphrates, 'every one of which makes a noise like a smith's forge in the puffing out of this matter, which never ceaseth night nor day and may be heard a mile off continually.'

After this, his first return from the Persian Gulf, Eldred not only made two more journeys to Babylon on business, but 'as one desirous to see the country,' travelled to Antioch, Joppa, Jerusalem, and the sea of Sodom, 'of which places, because others have published large discourses, I surcease to write.'

He returned to England early in the Armada year,² but Ralph Fitch, who had left London with him in 1583, did not reappear at home till 1591. Accompanying Newberie from Aleppo to Ormuz, and from Ormuz to Goa, the follower went far beyond his leader, and was one of the first Englishmen who visited for trade or any other object, Bengal, Malacca, and 'all the coast of the East India.' His account, of no small value in connection with the great exploring movement of his countrymen at this time, and containing some of the earliest English first hand notices of the further East, is not without some of the spice of quick and humorous observation.

¹ 'Instead of oakum, they use the shiverings of the bark of the said trees, and of the same they also make their tackling.'

² March 26, 1588, in the 'Hercules, the richest ship of English merchants' goods that was ever known to come into this realm!'

Against the Arab thieves of the Euphrates, he tells us, a 'gun is very good, for they do fear it much.' The Brahmins of India 'be a kind of crafty people, worse than the Jews,' and in their parts are 'many tigers and turtle doves and much other fowl.' The Hindu images, 'some like beasts, some like men, and some like the devil,' Ralph heartily despised : still more the Fakirs, whom he thought 'dissembling prophets.' One such he saw in Patenau, 'who sat upon a horse in the market place and made as though he slept'; the people 'took him for a great man, but sure he was a lazy lubber. These countries be much given to such prating and dissembling hypocrites.' The Indian fashion of blacking the teeth he explains oddly enough: 'they say a dog hath his teeth white, therefore they will black theirs.'

Reaching Ormuz 'down the Gulf of Persia in a ship made of boards, sewed together with thread of the husk of cocoas and certain canes or straw leaves sewed upon the seams of the boards, which is the cause that they leak very much,' Fitch tells us about the great Portuguese Emporium—'the dryest island in the world, with nothing growing on it but only salt.'

On the way to Goa he notices Diu, near the modern Bombay, then 'the strongest town that the Portugals have in these parts, where lade many ships for the straits of Mecca and for Ormuz.' The women of Guzerat, he thinks, set so much store by their finery that 'they would rather be without their meat than without their bracelets.' Passing by Chaul, still on the way to Goa, he tells of the Portuguese fort in the town, commanding a very considerable trade, and relates in a half-bewildered manner the strange customs of the natives—the veneration of the cow, the horror of killing any living thing, the practice of Suttee, the burning of the dead. 'They say if they were buried and not burned, it were a great sin, for of their bodies would come worms, and when their bodies were consumed, these would lack sustenance, which were a sin.' At this wonderful system of preventing cruelty to animals, Ralph is too amazed either to praise or blame. In Guzerat,

he adds, ‘they have hospitals to keep lame dogs and cats and for birds ; they will give meat to the ants.’ At Goa, ‘the most principal city that the Portugals have in India,’ Fitch found things, in spite of the kind offices of Father Stephens, so dangerous that he ‘determined presently to seek liberty rather than for ever to be a slave,’ and so, on April 5, 1585, plunged into the heart of the Deccan and made his way by Golconda ‘where be the diamonds of the old water,’ to Agra and the Court of the Great Mogul at Futtepore. Both these cities he thought ‘much greater than London :’ they inflamed his desire to see more, and while Newberie started for Lahore ‘determining thence to go for Persia,’ he gladly obeyed his superior’s order to visit Bengal and Pegu, and sailed down the Jumna and the Ganges to the mouth of the Hoogly. Merchants from China¹ and Tartary, Fitch tells us, were to be seen in numbers down in the Bay of Bengal, the latter ‘apparelled with woollen clothes and hats, white hosen, and boots of Muscovy or Tartaria.’

In Pegu we hear of the lake dwellings, the palanquins, the houses built on piles, the boat-huts and the white elephants of the natives and their king ; and travelling inland Fitch met another concourse of Chinese merchants, but though now so near, he did not go on to the Celestial Empire. Turning south to Malacca, he saw there the famous fort, built by Albuquerque in 1512-13, and noticed with some surprise the vast expenditure of the Portuguese in maintaining their East Indian trade-dominion.²

On March 29, 1588, Fitch turned back from Malacca, his furthest point, and slowly made his way first to Pegu and Bengal, then to Ceylon, where he seems to have seen

¹ In parts of which they used ‘almonds for money,’ an inconvenient coinage, as it frequently got eaten on the way—unsafe probably with errand-boys.

² ‘800,000 cruzadoes yearly employed by the Portuguese in China, to their great advantage ; their carrack, sailing annually from Macao to Japan, brings back 600,000 cr. worth of goods.’ The Chinese in Fitch’s day have already got their modern reputation ; they are very suspicious, and do not trust strangers, no Portuguese being allowed to sleep in Canton, their main centre of trade with the Celestials.

the Portuguese fort at Colombo, and to Malabar, where he tells us 'how pepper groweth' and how the Nairs or fighting caste of Calicut 'have always wars with the Portugals.' Thence he retraced his steps to Ormuz, the Euphrates, and Aleppo, making a special journey to visit Mosul 'near to Nineveh, all ruined and destroyed,' and arriving again in England on April 29, 1591, after eight years of absence.

The last of the voyages to south and south-east¹ which need be noticed here is that of Raymond and Lancaster round the Cape of Good Hope in 1591, and the naval expeditions to the West African coast and to the 'south quarters of the world outside the Straits,' especially in 1589, 1590, and 1591, which gave England the heroic episode of the last fight of Richard Grenville in the 'Revenge.'

Ralph Fitch had won a name chiefly by overland travel : Raymond and Lancaster's venture was entirely maritime. Leaving Plymouth on April 10, 1591, they made, like Cabral in 1500, a wide sweep westward to Brazil to avoid the currents of the African coast, doubled the Cape with some difficulty, after a meeting with 'certain black savages, very brutish, who would not stay,' and were then nearly wrecked upon the shoals of Madagascar, but just saved by a bright moonlight night.

After touching at some of the 'Moorish' settlements along the East African coast, the English found rest and shelter at Zanzibar, in spite of the treachery,² the 'false and

¹ A very large number are recorded in Hakluyt's collection which contain points of interest, but which must be omitted here, as there is only space to notice representative journeys. But cf. the narratives of William Huddie's voyage in 1583, of James Welsh's in 1590, of Raynold's and Daniel's in 1591, of Burrough's in the same year, and of the Earl of Cumberland's fleet in 1594—all to the West coast of Africa. Also the Levantine journeys of Henry Austell in 1586, of Richard Wrag in 1595, with their glowing descriptions of Stamboul 'to be preferred before all the cities of Europe ;' and the patents, of 1588 for the Guinea trade, of 1585 for the Barbary commerce, with the embassage of Henry Roberts to Morocco, in 1585–6.

² Naturally enough, the Portuguese tried to cut off the new comers, as the Moors had once cut off themselves, from 'all knowledge of the state and traffic of the country.' 'Cruel man-eaters' was the character that had been spread of English sailors.

spiteful dealing of the Portugals,' and thence 'set forward for the East India,' steering for Cape Comorin, 'the headland of the main of Malabar,' meaning there to lie off and on for ships from Ceylon, Bengal, Malacca, China, and Japan, 'which ships are of exceeding wealth.' In May 1592 they reached the Cape; by June 1 they were close upon Sumatra, when winter came upon them, 'with much contagious weather,' and they had to lie up till the end of August. Then sailing on to Malacca, they took a rich galleon, laden among other things with 'counterfeit stones from Venice to deceive the rude Indians withal.'

Returning to Ceylon, Lancaster was forced by his men to take advantage of a current 'that would set them off to the southward from all known land,' and to make a straight course for England by the Cape of Good Hope. In February 1593 they 'fell with the easternmost land of Africa,' some hundred leagues to the north-east of the Cape, finding 'no small refreshment' on the way from the shoals of bonitoes and albacores who followed in the wake of the ship, as if unweariedly fond of the amusement of being caught. Rounding the Cape once more, the English put in at St. Helena, the old Portuguese half-way house for India, but a stay of nineteen days in this earthly paradise made the sailors more determined than ever to enjoy their 'Rest after toil, port after stormy seas,' and only prolonged calms near the line hindered a quick return. To escape the misery of these delays, Lancaster bent away westward to the American 'Indies,' and it was not till May 24, 1594, that he landed at Rye in Sussex, bringing the news 'from some Portugals which he took,' that the coast of China had been lately discovered to the latitude of 59° , and the sea found 'still open to the northward, giving great hope of the north-east and north-west passages.'

Of the other South Atlantic or West African ventures of this time the voyage of 1591, on which Richard Grenville fought his last fight, and of which Walter Raleigh wrote the story, is the only one that ought, or is likely to be, remembered. The rest are of purely commercial and military interest, but the

stand made by the 'Revenge' off the Azores, so well known from Tennyson's famous ballad, is one of the most splendid feats of English seamanship and daring in the age of Elizabeth, and as a struggle for the mastery of the high seas and the freedom of England to extend its life, its commerce and enterprise across and beyond the ocean, it has an unquestionable place in the story of the national expansion. Sir Richard, sooner than leave his sick men on shore to the mercy of Spain, stayed behind the rest of the fleet putting them on board, 'persuading his company that he would pass through the two squadrons' of the enemy now in sight. But when he tried to escape and 'enforce those of Seville to give him way,' the 'San Philip' of 1,500 tons 'becalmed his sails,' so that he could make no way, so huge and high was the Spanish three-decker. The 'Revenge' once entangled with the 'San Philip,' four others boarded her, and the fight, beginning at three in the afternoon, lasted all night, fresh ships coming up constantly to take the place of those that were beaten off, and the English vessel 'having never less than two mighty galleons by her side, so that ere the morning fifteen several Armadas had assailed her.' At last 'all the powder of the English being spent to the last barrel, their pikes broken, the masts all beaten overboard, and nothing left overhead but the very foundation or bottom of a ship—the enemy now all cast in a ring round about,' Grenville bade the master gunner, 'whom he knew to be a most resolute man, to split and sink the ship,' 'for the "Revenge" was now not able to move one way or the other but as she was moved with the waves of the sea; the ship having six foot of water in the hold, and three shot under water, so weakly stopped as with the first working of the sea she must needs sink.' But the men refused to be thus treated, and the Spaniards eagerly offering the most honourable terms, they struck, 'it being no hard matter to dissuade men from death to life.' Some of the survivors fearing Sir Richard's disposition, stole away in the Spanish boats, others disarmed the gunner and locked him into his cabin, and Grenville was at last

brought, mortally wounded in the brain, on board the flagship of his foes. As he was carried across he scornfully gave his captors leave 'to do what they list with his body, for he esteemed it not,' and swooned away, recovering only to expire among the 'admiring Spaniards, highly commanding his valour,' with the famous words, 'Here die I, Richard Grenville, with a joyful and quiet mind. For that I have ended my life as a true soldier, that has fought for his country, queen, religion, and honour, whereby my soul most joyful departeth out of this body, and shall always leave behind it an everlasting fame.' 'And so he gave up the ghost, and no man could perceive any sign of heaviness in him.'

The great and permanent result of these triumphs of English enterprise and daring on this side, by the overland as well as by the maritime routes to the east and south-east, was the Association for trading with India, formed in London in 1599, which, as the East India Company,¹ received its charter from Queen Elizabeth in 1600, and which was certainly inspired to a great extent by the corresponding successes of the Dutch in the last years of the century. When and where they had broken up the exclusive hold of Spaniards and Portuguese in the East Indies, Englishmen might hope to follow, and the heroic age of English exploration, the age of Elizabeth, did not pass before the first step had been taken towards that last and greatest of European dominions in the Indian Seas which was foreshadowed in the visits of Newberie and Ralph Fitch, of Drake and Cavendish, of Lancaster and the unlucky adventurers of 1596.

¹ 30,000*l.* were subscribed for the Indian company in 1599, only four years after the Dutch, in 1595, had sent their first fleet to the Spice islands; the Queen's hesitation about granting a charter for land and trade claimed in monopoly by Spain (and Portugal) was removed by a list of countries in the East to which the Spaniards could not pretend. Were they to bar Englishmen 'from the use of the vast, wide, and infinitely open ocean sea'?

The E.I.C. Charter of 1600 was for fifteen years. It empowered the company to trade to all places in India unclaimed by other Christian nations, to buy land for factories, to make bye-laws, &c. Its first fleet was sent out in 1601, under Sir James Lancaster, the commander of the only successful ship of 1591. He made a treaty with the King of Achin in Sumatra, gained permission to build a factory in the island, and, in alliance with the Dutch, attacked the Portuguese.

Of voyages to the north and north-east, we must remember the new beginning made under Edward VI. in the attempt of Chancellor and Willoughby upon the north-east passage, and what followed thereupon, as well as the development of this line of enterprise throughout the Tudor period to the end of Mary's reign.

At that point we find Anthony Jenkinson on his journey 'from Moscow to Boghar' upon the banks of the Oxus, in daily fear of robbery or murder, 'for there travel few that are peaceable in that country but in company of caravan.' Now, while all unknown to him, a new reign had begun in England, he was steadily pushing on towards Bokhara, which he reached on December 23, 1558, after a brush¹ with roving brigands.

In Boghar we are told a third part of the city was 'for merchants and markets, for there is yearly great resort of merchants, which travel in caravans from the countries adjoining, as India, Persia, Balkh and Russia.² In times past, there was trade from Cathay to Boghar, when there was passage, but their merchants are so beggarly and bring in so little, that there is no hope of any good trade there.' Anthony then describes the great commercial routes crossing Bactria and the commodities bought from and returned to other countries. He was chagrined to find that all the gold, jewels, and spices of the south passed 'to the ocean sea,' not coming north into Tartary at all, and that 'the veins where all such things are gotten' were 'in the subjection of the Portugals.'³ The Chinese trade was not active, as the

¹ In this, 'certain Tartars of our company called Holy men because they had been at Mecca,' promised victory after going through certain mystic ceremonies; 'to which sorcery I and my company gave no credit, but we found it true.'

² Ivan the Terrible's letters on Jenkinson's behalf had no small effect on the King of Boghar; 'divers times he sent for me and devised with me familiarly of the power of the Emperor and the Great Turk, as also of our countries, laws, and religion. But after all this he showed himself a very Tartar,' for he went to the wars owing money, and left Jenkinson unpaid.

³ 'I offered to barter with merchants from the farthest parts of India, from Bengal and the river Ganges, but they would not barter for cloth.'

As to Russian goods, Jenkinson found but 'small utterance; ' the whole trade of Persia and Tartaria he afterwards condemned alike, 'little utterance and small

caravans from Cathay were then in danger from border warfare—‘and when the way thither is clear, it is nine months’ journey.’ So, giving up all idea of reaching to the Furthest East, Jenkinson now tried to turn south into Persia, but he was prevented by the seizure of his passports and the news of the extreme unsettlement and danger of the route, and making his way back, as he had come, across the scarcely less perilous wastes of Western Tartary, in the company of envoys from the Bactrian ‘Soldans,’ to Czar Ivan the Terrible, at last reached ‘Mare Caspium,’ on April 23, 1559, after more than six weeks’ travel over the steppes. Here he found the bark he came in, ‘but neither anchor, cable, nor sail: nevertheless we brought hemp with us and spun a cable ourselves with the rest of our tackling, and made us a sail of cloth of cotton. And while devising to make an anchor of wood of a cart-wheel, there came a boat from Astrachan, with two anchors,’ which supplied the want and so ‘with the said six ambassadors, and 25 Russes which had been slaves a long time in Tartaria,’ the daring Englishman set out across the stormy inland sea.¹

He lost his anchor in a tempest, but found it again with the help of the compass, ‘whereat the Tartars much marvelled.’ ‘And note,’ adds the narrative, ‘that during our navigation we set up the Red Cross of St. George in our flags, for honour of the Christians, which I suppose was never seen in the Caspian Sea before.’

Reaching Astrachan on May 28, the travellers remained there till June 10 ‘preparing boats to go up against the stream of Volga.’ Jenkinson’s attempt to do a little quiet trading at this time was a failure, Persian goods being ‘sold there as cheap as we might sell ours,’ and he seems to have despaired of the overland commerce with Persia altogether.

pr. fit.’ Persian commerce, he says again, goes into Syria, and so is transported into the Levant seas.

¹ Jenkinson describes the Caspian very carefully, notes that it is ‘without any issue to other seas,’ ‘for it avoideth not itself, except it be underground,’ and gives a list of the bordering nations and of the great rivers that fall into it, especially the Volga, whose source, ‘near Novgorod,’ and whose length, ‘above 2,000 English miles,’ are particularly related.

In any case the Caspian route was hopeless : the few ships, the want of mart and port towns, the poverty of the people, and the ice 'maketh that trade nought.'

On June 10, 1559, under an escort from the Czar, Anthony, with the company committed to his charge, he started for Moscow, and on September 4 he came before the Emperor, and presented him with a 'white cow's tail of Cathay and a drum of Tartaria,' while Ivan questioned his favourite about his travels and the prospect of English and Russian trade in Central Asia. Jenkinson's venerable beard, which a later story declared he could wind three times round himself, was a special delight to the 'English' emperor. He was said to stroke it like a holy relic. However this may be, the Czar's personal favour to the London trader was a main-stay of the alliance of the two courts and countries. We shall see later how Jenkinson is the only man who can restore good feeling in a time of friction and misunderstanding.

Returning to England to report his discoveries to the company he served—the 'Merchant Adventurers trading into Russia'—he started for the East once again, on May 14, 1561, furnished with letters from the Queen to Ivan IV. and to the Shah or 'Grand Sophie' of Persia, as well as with a 'remembrance' from the company suggesting certain explorations, as of the north-east passage, with a view to further trading profits. All this brings out strongly the mercantile object of the directors at home. Jenkinson himself is trusted and employed, not so much as a great explorer, as a successful man of business.

Reaching Moscow on August 20, and receiving a cordial welcome from the Czar, he set out for Persia on April 27, 1562, 'by the great river of Volga,' crossed the Caspian, passing the mouth of the Volga 'at a west sun' on July 16, reached Derbend on August 4, and soon after entered Hyrcania and Persia, passing the mythical Alexander's 'wall of Gog-Magog'¹ on the way. On August 20 he stood in the

¹ This he describes religiously, but is careful to add that only the foundation remains.

presence of the King of Hyrcania,¹ whose favour he won, and whose awkward questions, as to the balance of power in Europe, he skilfully evaded. Thence he was sent on to the court of the Shah at Casben, by way of Tauris (Tabrez). Endangered here by the rivalry of Turks and Venetians, Jenkinson was not well received, called an Unbeliever—‘they esteeming all infidels which do not believe in their false, filthy prophets, Mahomet and Murtezallie’—and sent back in disgrace to his lodging, where he heard of plots against his life, and believed that the Shah had even determined to hand him over to the Sultan.² But the King of Hyrcania befriended him steadily, and on March 20, 1563, he was dismissed unharmed, and made his way back to the Caspian, seizing various chances that occurred on the way, of ‘conferring with merchants of India for a trade of spices,’ and of beginning an English commerce in Georgia. He had traded for Ivan as well as for his own company in Persia, and on his return to Moscow August 20, 1563, easily won from him the reward of a new ‘privilege’ for his fellow countrymen in Russia as extensive as the charter he had gained from the King of Hyrcania. On September 28, 1564, he was again in London, and he did not return to Russia till the summer of 1566. Perhaps his ‘great and extreme danger of loss of ship, goods, and life’ may have been in part the cause of this.

Jenkinson is perhaps the greatest of all our overland travellers in the Elizabethan age; at any rate he is the

¹ A man ‘of a mean stature and a fierce countenance, richly appareled with long garments of silk and cloth of gold,’ who received Jenkinson sitting with his nobility in his pavilion with his legs crossed. But ‘perceiving that it was painful for me so to sit, he caused a stool to be brought.’ He asked Jenkinson ‘whether the Emperor of Almaine, or he of Russia, or the Grand Turk had most power, to whom I made answer as I thought most meet.’

² The Shah, finding Jenkinson ‘believed Jesus Christus was the greatest prophet,’ broke out angrily upon him. ‘Dost thou verily believe so? Yea, that I do, said I. Oh thou infidel, said he, we have no need to have friendship with such, and so willed me to depart.’ Lest the print of his heretical feet should remain, a man followed Jenkinson to the court gate, strewing sand behind him. Before his outburst he had got on very diplomatically, ‘not dispraising the Turk, their late concluded friendship considered.’

unquestioned leader of English enterprise in Russia and the north-east ; and the subsequent narratives of his servants and successors in Muscovite, Persian, and 'Tartarian' trade may, for the most part, be taken as reflections of his own account, only adding unimportant details. No one else goes so far into Central Asia ; no one else enjoys an equal experience or shows the same commanding energy of thought and action on this side.

Thus the 'Voyage into Persia' of Thomas Alcock, who was killed there, and of Richard Cheinie, who carried on his work, is only a version of some of the incidents that followed upon Anthony's last journey. It throws fresh light on one point—the 'vicious living' of some of the English merchants,¹ which had made them to be 'counted worse than the Russes.'

The travels and letters of Arthur Edwards and Richard Johnson are evidence of a slow but steady extension of English commerce in Persia, and of the growth of English knowledge upon the Asiatic trade routes, but they are nothing more :² and the curious account by Sowtham and Sparke of their journey on the waterways in the interior of European Russia from Colmogro to Novgorod, performed with a pilot 'none of the perfectest,' cannot be more than barely noticed here.

Jenkinson's third journey (1566-67) is mainly of diplomatic interest. Its main achievement is the new mercantile privilege gained from Ivan on September 22, 1567, and it is to be connected with the Act of 1566 from the English side 'for the discovering of new trades,' which expressly mentions Media, Persia, Armenia, Hyrcania, and the Caspian Sea

¹ 'Wheras before we had the name among those Heathen to be such as they thought none like us in all respects.'

² Richard Johnson's tales of the people in Cathay, 'whose religion is Christian or after the manner of Christians,' and of the 'beautiful people' on the way to 'Great Cathaia,' who eat with knives of gold, are rather proofs of ignorance than anything else. He reports cautiously that 'ships may sail from Cathaia to India, as hath been heard by one who hath not been there himself;' a fact well known to the Portuguese at least from 1513 ; and he credits the Samoyedes of Siberia not merely with Cannibalism, but with living in the sea one month of every year.

among the parts to which the Muscovy Company's monopoly extended.

In the same way Thomas Randolph's embassage to the Czar in 1568 is mainly concerned with the new trading 'privilege,' the most interesting clause of which declares that 'when the company send to the discovery of Cathaya, they shall be licensed to repair unto this country of Russia, and have such conducts and guides, vessels, men, and victuals as they shall stand in need of.' That such an attempt was in preparation at this time we see from a commission given by Randolph in 1568, appointing James Bassardine, James Woodcock, and Richard Brown 'in a voyage of discovery to be made by them for searching of the sea' from the River Pechora to the eastwards, but no serious attempt was made to realise this till 1580.

The next group of documents in Hakluyt's collection refers to Arthur Edwards' fourth voyage into Persia, and tells us a good deal about the difficulties as to the practical working of the Persian venture, the Shah's letters being often regarded 'but as a straw in the wind.'

'From Ormuz cometh no such stock of spices as the Worshipful doth look for ;' the hold of Venice over Armenia is not easily to be broken ; Babylon might have been opened up for commerce 'if he whose deeds and sayings differ much had been willing to the same.' Casben also had been neglected. 'If this be loss to the Worshipful, refer it to the want of one which can do that which he speaketh.' The letters of the company's agents are full of these mutual complaints and of grumblings at the exile they have to endure. 'Better is it to continue a beggar in England for life, than a rich merchant seven years in this country.'¹

In 1571-72 we come back to Anthony Jenkinson, re-

¹ At the same time, George Turberville, Randolph's secretary, writes home a bitter complaint of the Russian winter and people :—

'Wild Irish are as civil as the Russes in their kind,

Hard choice which is the best of both—each bloody, rude, and blind.'

'Live still at home,' is his rather commonplace advice to his friends ; 'and covet not these barbarous coasts to see.'

storing the good understanding that had been for a time broken between England and Russia, obtaining the release of English merchants who had offended the Czar, and procuring the renewal of the old mercantile privileges. The evil doings of the company's agents, he declares, had been the sole cause of the rupture.

This is the last time that Anthony appears prominently in the history of English exploration. *Kakluyt* here appends a list of the countries visited by him since his first great journey began on October 2, 1546, before the death of Henry VIII. All the western lands of Europe he had 'thoroughly travelled.' He had been through the Levant seas every way, and in all the chief islands of the same; in many parts of Greece, and 'where the old city of Corinth stood; ' through the length and breadth of Syria; in divers places of North Africa; in Norway, Lapland, and the Arctic Ocean; while no western of his day had anything like the same personal knowledge of Russia, Northern Persia, and Turkestan.

With 1580 we come to a resumption of the serious attempts to find the north-east passage, this time by Arthur Pet and Charles Jackman, who, starting on May 30, and keeping pretty steadily in latitude 70° , passed between Nova Zembla and the mainland, coasted the island of Vaigats, and were then stopped. 'Winds we had at will, but ice and fog against our wills, if it had pleased the Lord God otherwise.' The results of the voyage were painfully disappointing. At first, when bearing through the ice into a clear sea on August 15, 'they rejoiced as a bird escaped out of cage,' hoping, like Gerald Mercator, that 'the voyage to Cathay was very short and easy.' The Siberian rivers Mercator imagined led into the heart of China, and nothing could be simpler than to follow them up. Unluckily, both as to the north-east and north-west passages, the confidence and hopes of students at home were in exactly inverse proportion to the practical chances of success, and even to the amount of discovery realised in these directions.

With the death of Ivan the Terrible (1584) the English traders and travellers in Russia fell under a cloud. Dutch interlopers began to threaten the English monopoly, and, in spite of the embassy of Sir Jerome Bowes, the Muscovite empire now ceased for many years to be an English highroad to the further East and the main field of English commerce.¹

The embassy of Giles Fletcher and the visits and writings of Jerome Horsey bring us to the last of the notices remaining of Elizabethan exploration in Russia. Horsey saw the coronation of Ivan's son in 1584, and was active in obtaining a commercial 'privilege' from the new monarch. Fletcher tells us, in 1588, how the Terrible Czar, just dead, had begun to make aggressions on the Baltic, building a fort near the site of the present St. Petersburg; he describes the commerce on the Caspian and the White Seas, and the overland trade routes across Russia, attempts a geographical account of Siberia and Tartary, and gives us pleasant stories about men in these outlandish regions who 'die yearly and revive again as do frogs,' 'have heads like dogs and the faces in their breasts,' 'are overgrown with hair like beasts' or 'go without feet.'

On this side there is little more to record. In 1590 the Muscovy merchants complain to Lord Burleigh of vexatious restrictions in their trade: in 1591 the Czar is accused of seizing English goods: the English traders at Archangel have special grievances—they have been 'three weeks restrained from their mart and driven to pay the emperor's officers custom.' The trouble is smoothed over for the time by gracious letters from Feodor Ivanovitch, Ivan the Terrible's successor, whose death in 1597 closes this period of Anglo-Russian intercourse.

Lastly of voyages to the West, to America, we have a great and representative collection in Hakluyt himself, with a number of other notices, and it is of course in this direction that we must look for the distinctive and leading achieve-

¹ Cf. Henry Lane's brief Discourse of North-east Discovery for thirty-three years.

ments of English exploration and the first movements towards English colonisation, in the age of Elizabeth.

First of all, we have to deal with a series of trading ventures, such as those of John Hawkins in 1562 and 1564, and of Roger Bodenham in 1564. Hawkins' 'third unfortunate voyage' of 1567-8 was the story of a similar attempt (as in 1564) to force the Spanish settlements in the West Indies to trade with him for negro slaves in face of King Philip's prohibition,¹ an attempt which on this occasion was cut short by the appearance of a large Spanish navy. The cheerful insolence of the English captain, 'forcing to friendly commerce,' had been completely successful on the earlier voyages. Thus in 1564, finding the Spanish settlements forbidden to trade with him, he only replied 'his necessity was such he might not do so.' Having thus forced his 'friends' to supply him with victuals, he 'advised himself that to remain there idle was mere folly, and therefore determined for the sale of certain lean and sick negroes he had—which request of his the Spaniards found very reasonable.' All this, however, being directly against the orders of the home government, and no special permission having come from the governor, the sale of the blacks hung fire. Hawkins had to quicken it by threatening to go and sell elsewhere; in some places even this was not enough, and the Englishmen then 'willed their brothers of Spain either to give them license to trade or to stand to their own harms,' by such tragic comedy making a very good business of the voyage.

In his next venture Hawkins' genius was not allowed fair play: he was interrupted in mid-career, just as he was applying the gentle pressure of kindly force to expedite commerce; many of his men were lost, and 'to write the troublesome affairs of this sorrowful voyage, he declared, would need a painful man with his pen and as great a time as he that wrote the lives and deaths of the martyrs.' As he declared

¹ The narratives of two of his sailors, David Ingram and Miles Philips, put on shore by Hawkins, added a good deal to English knowledge as to the coasts of the Gulf of Mexico, and the Spanish possessions in Central America.

at a later time 'Paul might plant and Apollos water, but it was only God that gave the increase.'

In his second voyage, besides his slave-dealing, he ranged the coast of Florida, noticed and described, all too vividly, the 'sobbing' crocodiles of the Rio de la Hacha,¹ formed the conclusion that 'labourers, not loiterers,' were necessary to inhabit new countries, and observed the 'mystery of tobacco and the virtue thereof.' Not only were gold and silver plentiful in Florida, he reported, but unicorns flourished there most remarkably. Nor was the Lion wanting, to balance the Unicorn, as heraldry and propriety required. To settle and colonise this country would be 'an attempt requisite for a prince of power:' the 'increase from cattle alone,' without counting the precious metals, would raise profit sufficient.

Two famous expeditions to Central America, immediately following, are related in Hakluyt both from English and Spanish accounts; the first voyage of Francis Drake to Nombre de Dios in 1572, and the last voyage of John Oxenham over the Isthmus of Darien in 1575. Drake, the Spaniards declared, was repulsed in his attack on Nombre de Dios, but gained great plunder by his seizure of the treasure-mules on their way from Panama; and by his burning of the 'House of Crosses' he is said to have destroyed 200,000 'ducats in merchandise.'²

Oxenham, who met the fate which would infallibly have befallen Drake if he had ever been taken, fell into Spanish hands in trying 'that which never any man before enterprised.' Hiding his ship under boughs and earth in a little cove on the Atlantic side of the Isthmus, he went some twelve leagues inland till he came to the watershed of a river that flowed into the Pacific. Then making a pinnace forty-five feet long

¹ 'His nature is ever when he would have his prey to cry and sob like a Christian body; and thereupon came this proverb unto women Lachrymæ Crocodili, for as the crocodile when he crieth, goeth then about most to deceive, so doth a woman when she weepeth.'

² This buccaneering of course going on while peace nominally subsisted between the courts of London and Madrid, Drake and most of the other English adventurers at this time were looked on by the Spaniards simply as pirates.

to carry himself and his men, he sailed down into that Mare Clausum of Spain which few, if any, Englishmen had ever entered before. Here he reaped a rich harvest of plunder, but trying to return by the way he had come, he was pursued, and his route up stream discovered by the 'feathers of hens' that came floating down from his boat. Taken prisoner with most of his men, he suffered as a pirate at Lima—while King Philip in alarm at the new daring of the English buccaneers 'built galleys to keep the seas.'

With all this practical energy westwards there was naturally a good deal of speculation. Before Martin Frobisher resumed Cabot's attempts in the direction of a north-west passage, the feasibility of this scheme had been eagerly discussed, and a national interest was now aroused, which had been quite wanting in earlier time, when the project had been broached under the first Tudors by learned men.¹

Thus we have Humphrey Gilbert's 'Discourse to prove a Passage by the North-West to Cathay and the East Indies,' which undertakes to show, first by authority and second by experience, that this passage existed, and that the opening of it had been already made. In this the writer revives arguments alleged for the north-east passage by Anthony Jenkinson, answering them one by one in favour of the less tried, and so more hopeful, western experiment. 'Certain other reasons'² for the north-west passage are 'learnedly written' by Richard Willes, who argues from the well-tried routes by south-east and south-west, by the Cape of Good Hope, and Magellan's

¹ Now the work of Prince Henry of Portugal and his successors had begun to produce its effects in England; discovery and enterprise by land and sea were matters of popular concern.

² At any rate, 1. The north-east and north-west schemes *then* looked as feasible as the south-east and south-west had looked 100 years before. With the successes of Diaz and Da Gama, Columbus and Magellan, in the near past, the plans of Willoughby, of Cabot, of Gilbert, or of Jenkinson did not seem at all impossible; and, 2. Though the schemes themselves failed, they led to a great deal of incidental gain, e.g. the trade with Russia, the Newfoundland fisheries, the English discoveries in the north-east and north-west. Even the American colonies as first founded were not without reference to the north-west attempts. Virginia would be a good half-way house, some thought, for Labrador and Frobisher's Straits.

Straits, now held by England's foes, for the possibility of a parallel way by the north—but who ends with the sensible advice which Ptolemy once gave and then so egregiously belied, ‘that in such controversies of geographers, it must be true reports of skilful travellers that must put us out of doubt.’

From this theorising we come to the most important of those achievements which supported it. The three voyages of Martin Frobisher in 1576-7-8 ‘for the search of the North-West Passage,’ though they came far short of their ultimate object, resulted in a great extension of English and European knowledge along the coast of Labrador, Greenland, and the American side of the Arctic basin.

On Frobisher's first start from Greenwich, June 13, 1576, ‘making the best show he could, . . . her majesty bade him farewell by shaking her hand out of the window,’ and crew, captain, and friends at home all alike expected a decisive success from the enterprise. Sighting land on July 28, supposed to be Labrador, with ‘great store of ice about,’ the admiral named it Meta Incognita, and coasted it steadily till August 26. On the 19th he had sight of the country people, ‘like Tartars, with long black hair and flat noses, tawny in colour, wearing sealskins,’ the Esquimaux of the far north of America and of Greenland.¹ Trusting the natives too much, five of the Englishmen were made prisoners and all efforts to regain them were futile. Equally disappointing was the ‘hope of the passage.’ The next year (May 31, 1577) Frobisher started again with a larger ship ‘for the further discovery of the way to Cathay ;’ and striking into the Northern Ocean, ‘soon had no night, but that easily we had, when so disposed, the fruition of our books.’ On July 4 he sighted the coast near the landfall of the previous year, mountainous and forbidding, within strong barriers of ice and snow. Passing through the strait named after himself, and searching anxiously for traces of gold, he took possession of the country (July 20, 1577) and

¹ Whom the Norse discoverers of the eleventh century had found so much further south.

loaded the ship with stones and earth supposed to contain precious ore. For he and his men expected 'a much more benefit out of the bowels of the Septentrional parallels' than had ever been dreamt of. The natives proved quite impracticable, 'not allurable to any familiarity:' worse than this, they nearly cut off the admiral himself with their treachery:¹ and on August 23, as the 'mure' of ice ahead seemed impenetrable, Frobisher turned back for England with the cargo which it was hoped would reward the adventure, but which was only, as Hakluyt sorrowfully admits, to add another to the proofs 'that all is not gold that glistereth.'

The third voyage was a more sustained and serious, but not a more successful attempt. Frobisher had first sailed in 1576 with two tiny barks, of twenty-five and twenty tons apiece: now in 1578, in the new hope of enormous profits from the golden ore of Meta Incognita, a fleet of fifteen sail was prepared; the Queen herself bore a share of the expense; some of the sons of English gentry embarked as volunteers; 100 men were specially picked to form the colony, with three ships—the other twelve were to take in loads of the ore and to come back at once. The first English vision of a private El Dorado, for the nation's peculiar benefit, placed it to the north of Labrador.

On June 20, 1578, Frobisher sighted the high and craggy land of 'Friesland,' covered with snow and 'foggy mists,' and after great difficulty entering 'his own straits,' came at last to the 'wished port' in the Countess of Warwick's Sound,² where he found 'pieces of the pinnace left there the year before, which he had sunk, minding to have it again.' Fogs and icebergs had been so dangerous, however, that safety had only come from 'our God, who never leaveth them which call upon

¹ Frobisher having learnt that three of his five lost men were still alive was ready to run great risk in trying to recover them. One Esquimaux rascal pretended lameness, sat down on the shore and howled to the Englishman for help, 'but our general thought good to cure him' by ordering a shot to be fired 'which grazed before his face.' The counterfeit villain 'deliverly fled, without any impediment at all, and this was all the answer we could have of our men.'

² Dudley, Earl of Warwick, had been one of Frobisher's liberal patrons.

him, though he punisheth for amendment's sake : ' and the weather continued so rough and the ' distemperature of the country so plainly declared,' that in spite of the discovery of a new sound, running into Frobisher's Straits, the north-west passage again proved insoluble. The supposed gold of the islands (to the north of the Straits now called Hudson's) proved a bitter disappointment on the final return home, and the belief in this Esquimaux treasure-house grew dim : a significant silence is preserved by all accounts about the use made of the cargo, which at starting had almost superseded the passage itself in men's minds, as the main object of the voyage : finally the natives returned to their old tricks, ' and would come in their boats very near, as it were, to brag at us,' flinging stones and shooting arrows. The plan of the colony was given up,¹ though enough of the black ore was found to ' suffice all the gold gluttons ' in the world, and Frobisher, after building a little house in the Countess of Warwick's island, and ' garnishing it with trifles, to allure the people to some familiarity, against other years,' sailed for England on August 3, still firmly persuaded that his scheme was feasible. In the early part of the voyage, the Admiral had hoped that the passage lay through the present Hudson's Straits, and if he had followed his inclination, he would at any rate have discovered the greatest of American bays, the largest inland sea of the new world : it was to his duty as a trader that he sacrificed his hopes as a discoverer.

We have not space here to do more than notice the sensible suggestions for colonisation² given by Richard Hakluyt of

¹ Yet Captain Fenton and other gentlemen had formed a plan of staying behind and wintering, ' in so unhealthful a country, . . . whom neither the nipping storms of the raging winter nor the intemperature of the land, neither the savageness of the people nor the sight of so many strange meteors, could refrain ; with so many casualties before their eyes, the least whereof would have made a milksop Thersites astonished.' They were prevented by the sinking of the bark ' Dionyse' and the absence of the ' Thomas' of Ipswich with their stores.

² E.g., the first seat of the colony to be by the sea ; mines and mineral wealth not so important as commercial activity, a temperate climate, and sweet air. Without sea traffic Hakluyt believes the enterprise will be ' reproachful to us and a let to good purposes.' ' And of merchandise they cannot live unless the sea or the

the Middle Temple to gentlemen who went with Frobisher or the 'memorials of the Brazil trade' which form a transition from the extreme north to the extreme south, from Frobisher's failure in the north-west passage to Drake's success in the south-west. The greatest and most famous of Elizabethan voyages is certainly that of the 'Pelican,' or 'Golden Hind' 'into the South Sea, and thence about the whole globe of the earth,' between 1577 and 1580. It was the first English 'Encircling' of the world ; it brought home more treasure than any other single venture of the time ; it was supposed to have explored the Northern Pacific and the Californian coast beyond the furthest of any other nation. The moral effect of Drake's success upon the nation was in its way only second to that of the victory over the most famous and invincible Armada of 1588.

Leaving Plymouth on December 13, 1577, with five ships and 164 gentlemen and sailors, the Admiral, 'giving out his pretended voyage for Alexandria,' first hung about the African coast till he reached Cape Verde, then struck across the ocean—fifty-four days without sight of land—to Brazil, and sighted the Western Continent on April 5, 1578, 'in the height of 33° toward the pole Antarctic.' Disappointed of finding a good harbour 'within the river of Plate,' but noticing on the coast footmarks of 'people of great stature,'¹ the squadron coasted southward to Port St. Julian in Patagonia, where was still standing a grim relic of earlier explorers, 'the gibbet which we supposed to be where Magellan did execution upon his rebellious company.' By a curious fatality, Drake did not leave this gloomy spot without adding another tragedy, : Thomas Doughty was here executed for 'actions

land yield commodity. So the 'seat' is to be planted 'where natural commodities may draw access of navigation.' 'All humanity' is to be used to the natives. A navigable river or lake is most requisite. Every means is to be used to improve the soil, but the command of the sea is of the first importance, and an island or estuary site is declared preferable to any other.

¹ Drake met some of these soon after, and one of them made off with his gold-laced cap, which the savage then 'shared with his fellow, the cap to one and the hand to the other.'

tending to mutiny' and the crews were sworn afresh to obedience and unity, everyone receiving the sacrament upon it.

On August 20, 1578, the fleet entered Magellan's Straits, and after slowly threading their way through its cold and desolate windings, passed through on September 6 into the 'Great South Sea,' that wonderful Pacific which had first revealed the difference between America and India, the true bulk of the earth and the proportion and distribution of the ocean tracts by the side of the *terra firma* of the world.

Driven south of the Straits by storms into latitude 55°,¹ Drake soon recovered himself, and running rapidly north, found to his surprise that Peru, instead of lying, 'as the general maps have described,' north-west 'of the Straits of Magellan,' trended to east-north-east, 'whereby it appeared that this part hath not been truly reported by 12° at the least.'

Off the coast of Chili the English took up an Indian in a canoe, who, taking them for Spaniards, told them of the whereabouts of one of the great Peruvian treasure ships, and piloted them to Valparaiso, where they seized a huge booty. Thence Drake coasted on to Lima, making raids, as he passed, upon Coquimbo, Arica, and other places. On February 13, 1579, he was off the port of Lima, which he found 'most secure, having never been assaulted by enemies,' and in rifling the ships in the harbour,² the buccaneer chief got what was worth more than the plunder of twelve small merchant vessels—news of the 'Cacafuego,' the great treasure-galleon, which had just started for Paita. The English hurried after her—only to find that she had gone on to Panama, 'whom our general still pursued,' and, 'about three of the clock' John Drake sighted her from the masthead. By six the 'Pelican' was up with her. Three guns brought down her mizen and she struck with all her riches—'thirteen chests full of Royals of plate, eighty pounds weight of gold, and

¹ When they saw an eclipse of the moon (September 15), about which the English noticed sarcastically that it 'did neither impair our state, nor . her clearing amend us a whit.'

² One of the Spaniards here, 'seeing persons of that quality in those seas, all to crossed and blessed himself,' but he was soon 'under hatches' with the others.

twenty-six tons of silver.' The cargo was carefully transferred, and then the English Admiral 'cast off this Cacafuego,' after giving the pilot¹ a receipt for the whole of her lading, and putting into shore lightened several passing ships of a good deal of their inconvenient wealth. Then, thinking 'her Majesty would rest contented with this service,' he began to think of return—not by Magellan's Straits for fear both of Spanish reprisals and stormy weather, but by the Moluccas and the Cape of Good Hope.

But to get to the Moluccas Drake conceived he must take a 'Spanish course' by the far north, across the Pacific. Accordingly from April 16 to June 5 he kept on till he was 'in 48° towards the Arctic pole,' and his men, 'grievously pinched with the cold, complained of the extremity thereof.' Finding the land 'covered with snow' he dropped down into 38°, 'in which height it pleased God to send us into a fair and good bay.' The people of the country showed themselves, and being 'courteously entreated' by the English, who 'bestowed on them necessary things to cover their nakedness,' supposed them to be gods, and would not be persuaded to the contrary—a curious case of invincible ignorance. They went so far in this that their king resigned his crown and kingdom into Drake's hands, 'which thing he thought not meet to reject, and so received 'to the use of her Majesty.' The country, the California of our maps, he called New Albion, and at his departure set up a monument of his visit and overlordship, being convinced the Spaniards had never been there, 'neither did ever discover the land by many degrees' to the southwards.

From this point the 'Pelican' struck across the open sea till October 13, 1579, 'which day we fell with certain islands' in 8° north; and so threading her way among the reefs and corallets of the West Pacific, 'some whereof made a great

¹ The pilot had two 'fair' silver-gilt bowls, to whom Drake pleasantly remarked: 'Signor pilot, I must needs have one of them,' 'whom the pilot yielded unto, because he could not otherwise choose. So when the pilot had gone out his boy said to our general, "Our ship shall now be called the 'Cacaplata' and yours the 'Cacafuego'"—which pretty speech ministered matter of laughter to us, both then and long after.'

show of inhabitants,' reached the Moluccas on November 14. Here, like the Californian 'king,' the Prince of Ternate offered, or was supposed to offer, himself and his kingdom to the service of the Queen of England. The Indian chief came in person to see Drake with a barbaric pomp that greatly impressed the strangers, and the visit was returned by English envoys sent by the Admiral, who were emboldened to hope for great things in the future for national enterprise, with such allies in the East Indies 'enemies to the Portugals, sovereigns over seventy islands, and chief of all the Moluccas.'

Between Ternate and Java, while steering his way among the dangerous shoals and reefs of the archipelago, Drake ran upon a rock (January 9, 1580), but got off again after eight hours of terrible suspense, 'the wind changing from starboard to larboard, as it were in a moment, by the special grace of God.' In Java the greater, the English found five Rajahs governing, 'which live as having one spirit and one mind,' but learning from these philosophic mortals or their subjects, that not far off there were 'such great ships as ours,' it was resolved to stay no longer, but to make haste forward to the Cape 'of the Portugals,' of 'Tempests,' or of 'Good Hope,' which was the first land sighted after leaving Java. Even here Drake would not land, but only noted 'the report most false, that it is the most dangerous cape of the world,' though in truth it was 'a most stately thing, the fairest we saw in the whole circumference of the earth.'

On November 3 he was again in England—the first English, the third European captain who had

Circled Ocean's plain profound
And girdled earth in one continuous round.

The 'Pelican' became, like Nelson's 'Victory' in after days, a sacred and historic vessel, preserved at Deptford for the wondering admiration of sightseers. Drake himself was knighted,¹ and became the undisputed leader of English

¹ 'Who striketh at thee, Drake, striketh at us,' were the traditional words of the Queen to him when she let him start.

navigators, explorers, and dare-devils in the deepening struggle with Spain and the Catholic reaction. For by his voyage he had claimed an absolutely world-wide expansion for his people. He had asserted, as well as one man and one fleet could assert, the empire of the seas for England, or at least her right to struggle for such empire, the right of great and unique success. He had thrown down the gage to Magellan's southerners. For his island, for the Teutonic north, for the men who were struggling against Spain and against Rome, he had been the first

To open up those wastes of tide
No generation opened before.

The spirit Drake had roused and the impulse he had given are to be seen in the next voyage, reported by Hakluyt, of Edward Fenton and Luke Ward, in 1582, and in a number of subsequent attempts to reach the Indies, not by the northern, but by the southern routes, as well as in a new scheme for definite colonisation in the new world.

The first signs of this new development may be traced back to 1578, to the patent¹ granted to Sir Humphrey Gilbert, for the 'planting of our people in America,' and the letters written in the same year 'of the true state and commodities of Newfoundland,' by Anthony Parkhurst to Richard Hakluyt, but no serious result followed upon these till 1583, when Gilbert himself sailed with five ships and 260 men (June 11).

Here we enter upon the second period of English intercourse with the new world—the age of settlement and conquest, following that of discovering voyages and pirate raids. The disastrous result of the first venture ought not to blind us to

¹ The letters patent granted Gilbert 'free licence to discover and view such remote, heathen, and barbarous lands, not actually possessed of any Christian people. . . . the said Sir Humphrey to remain there, to build and fortify at discretion.' Gilbert was unable to act with effect for five years, but 'standing long upon his determination, without means to satisfy his desire,' he had even 'granted assignments to persons of mean ability to plant and fortify in the north parts of America about the river of Canada;' but 'time went away without anything being done.'

its significance, as the first step towards the possession of North America by the English race. The course taken was straight for the South Cape of Newfoundland. Every requisite was on board, even 'music in good variety, for solace of our people and allurement of the savages, not omitting the least toys, as Morris-dancers, hobby horses, and May-like concerts to delight the savage people: and to that end we were indifferently furnished of haberdashery wares to barter with those simple people.'

On August 3 the fleet anchored off the coast of Newfoundland, and the narrative goes on to lament the piratical leanings of the English crews, to which is ascribed the ruin of the whole enterprise by divine justice. But this was wisdom after the event. Gilbert himself, taking possession of Newfoundland for Queen Elizabeth (August 5, 1583), sailed boldly forward to Cape Breton, without any fears of divine vengeance. 'The evening was fair and pleasant, yet not without token of storm to ensue, and most part of this night, like the swan that singeth before her death, the crew of the flagship were sounding trumpets, drums and fifes, winding the cornets and hautboys—in the end of their jollity left with the ringing of doleful knells.'

On the 29th the storm broke on them with dense fog; the flagship ran aground and perished, and so frightful was the outlook, that even Gilbert was prepared to 'have compassion' on his men and to turn back for England.

The wind was 'large' for home, but high and rough, so that Gilbert's frigate, the 'Squirrel' of ten tons, was almost swallowed up—but he would not change into his 'great ship,' the 'Golden Hind' (of 40 tons)—this would be to forsake his little company, with whom he had passed through so many perils. And so came the end, with its most pathetic picture. Of all the Elizabethan sagas there is none with the peculiar charm of Gilbert's death.

North of the Azores 'we met with terrible seas, breaking short and high, pyramid wise; men which all their life had occupied the sea never saw more outrageous' billows, and on

September 9, in the afternoon, the 'frigate was near cast away, yet at that time recovered.' Joyful signals were exchanged, and the 'General, sitting abaft with a book in his hand, cried out to us in the "Hind," "We are as near heaven by sea as by land"—but 'the same Monday night about twelve, the frigate being ahead of us in the "Golden Hind," suddenly her lights were out,' and 'in that moment she was swallowed up.' The 'Golden Hind' reached Plymouth alone on September 22 (1583).¹

But the ill-fated expedition had only been one outcome of a really national interest in Western planting. The loss of Gilbert hardly checked this at all; Raleigh stepped into his place, and the voyage of 1584, to Virginia, made at his 'charge and direction,' led to the first English exploration and possession—of this part.² Next year Sir Richard Grenville, at the head of a fleet largely equipped by Raleigh, founded the first English settlement in the new world, the 'New fort in Virginia'—in the 'goodliest soil under the cope of heaven,' of which Ralph Lane was put in charge (1585).

And, although this was not a permanent colony, yet its importance is scarcely less than that of the successful venture of 1608. The later years of Elizabeth saw the exploring and colonising movement setting more and more steadily westward—till the decisive victory of 1588³ secured England's

¹ Cf. the relation of Richard Clarke of Weymouth; Sir George Knight's true report of the late discoveries, from Edward Hayes' account; Thomas Aldworth's letter to Walsingham, March 27, 1583, concerning a western voyage; Carlisle's brief summary discourse of April 1583 upon the intended voyage in the same direction, and the letters patent granted to Walter Raleigh similar to those before given to Giloert.

² Starting on April 27, 1584, by July 2 they were off the North American coast in 'shoal water, where they smelt so sweet and strong a smell; as if they had been in the midst of some delicate garden, abounding with all kinds of flowers.' Reaching the land they had a 'conference with a savage,' and soon 'fell to trading with' the natives, a 'people most gentle, loving and faithful, void of all guile and treason, and such as live after the manner of the golden age.'

³ When, as Raleigh said, the Armada had been 'beaten and shuffled together from the Lizard to Portland, from Portland to Calais, and from Calais driven with squibs from their anchors, chased out of sight of England, and round about Scotland and Ireland, where they were crushed against the rocks, and those that landed broken, slain and sent from village to village, coupled in halters; with

foothold upon the high seas as it had never been secured before. With the failure of Spain to crush her Northern enemies, English and Hollanders, practically ended the attempts of the same power to shut up the new discovered seas and lands from all other nations. Thomas Cavendish, by successfully repeating Drake's achievement, proved that a 'venture around the whole globe of the earth' was open to any daring and resolute English captain, even without the exceptional genius and fortune of Sir Francis, and the enterprises of the Virginia Colony, of the trial of Guiana, and of the north-west passage showed how universal was the interest taken in the new movements, even by the highest classes of English society. The ambition of the buccaneers and sea-dogs, of the merchants and factors of earlier time, had now reached upward to the most stationary and least impulsive part of the nation.

Out of the immense number of accounts which illustrate the expansion of England in these last years of the sixteenth century, we have only space to notice some four or five of those which best represent the main lines of the national 'outgoing.'

And the first of these is the voyage of Cavendish, the only successful follower of Drake, in this time, up to 1603, on the path of his greatest exploit.

Thomas Candish, as Hakluyt calls him, started July 21, 1586, on his 'admirable and prosperous journey into the South Sea, and thence round about the whole earth,' and returned September 9, 1588, just after the 'overthrowing of the Spanish fleet,' but this, the second English circumnavigation, was for the most part a less eventful repetition of the first. One of its most chief novelties was its discovery of King Philip's city, which had been built to command the Straits of Magellan, 'to the end that no other nation should have passage through, but it was not God's will so to have it.' The life of this settlement, by Cavendish's account, had been

all which so terrible an ostentation, they did not so much as sink or take one bark, pinnace, or cockboat of ours, or ever burnt so much as one sheepcote of this land.'

a ghastly story of misery and mutiny during its two years of struggle against the soil and climate of Patagonia. ‘They could never have anything to grow, or in any wise prosper, till they died like dogs in their houses and in their clothes,—though they had ‘contrived their city well, situated in the best part of the Straits’ and had ‘had laws very severe—even to a gibbet whereon they had done execution.’

Coasting along Chili, Cavendish heard how the natives of the Southern Andes, the terrible warriors of the Arauco country, could not be subdued ‘at any time;’ but in parleying with some Spaniards on shore he lost the guide he had taken from King Philip’s city, the sole survivor of the 400 colonists, whom the English had begun to use as an interpreter, and cursed bitterly when he, naturally enough, escaped to his friends in Quintero Bay, ‘for all his deep and damnable oaths’ to die on Cavendish’s side before he would be false.

Off Arica the Admiral captured some prisoners; ‘one Fleming¹ and three Spaniards’ he tortured for news, especially of the treasure-galleons. Then, guided by their directions, after storming and sacking Paita, he found and took his prize, the ‘great S. Anne,’ off Cape Lucar in California ‘between 7 and 8 in the morning.’ She yielded 122,000 pesos of gold, and with this Cavendish set off for home ‘about three in the afternoon’ (November 19, 1587) by the way that Drake had first opened to his countrymen, ‘the course of the Portugals,’ through the East Indies and round Africa.

On January 3, 1588, he ‘had sight’ of the Ladrones, where his men chaffered with the ‘yare and nimble’ natives in their well-built canoes,² ‘as artificially made as any we had ever seen,’ and passing on to the Philippines, the new comers noticed with wonder the meeting of trade at Manilla from S. America on one side and from China

¹ ‘A good mind if in a good cause,’ Hakluyt remarks grimly, ‘on the constancy of this Fleming.’

² These are elaborately described by Cavendish, ‘sailing as well right against the wind, as before the wind.’ His account of the barter with these natives, little pieces of old iron against potato roots, while a heavy swell was bobbing the canoes up and down, is very picturesque.

on the other, the elaborate tattooing of the chiefs¹ and the pleasantly familiar intercourse of the natives with the Devil, 'whom they wholly worship.'

After hanging the Spanish pilot for his intended treachery and making some of the islanders pay him tribute, Cavendish 'sent commendations' to the Spaniards of Manilla, 'willing them to provide good store of gold, for he meant to visit them again within four years, and so left them to their own reflections. Passing between the 'greater and lesser' Java² on March 1, the English heard from some Portuguese they met on this coast that there was some hope Philip of Spain, in spite of his conquest of the home kingdom, would not be recognised by the successors of Albuquerque in the East Indies —another opening for our interference and possible empire. Like Drake, Cavendish made a straight course from Java for the South of Africa, and from March 16 to May 16 was traversing that 'mighty and vast sea.' On June 8 he landed in the 'marvellous fair and pleasant valleys' of St. Helena,³ so long used for the 'refreshing of the Portugals on their way to India: on September 3, soon after passing the Azores, he heard from a Flemish hulk the news of the Armada, 'to the singular comfort of us all,' and on the 9th of the same month he was safe again in Plymouth harbour.

As Cavendish's voyage represents the ocean enterprise westward of our explorers, traders, and warriors in the latter years of Elizabeth, so Davis's attempts to follow Frobisher in 1585-86-87 represent the continued struggle for the north-west passage, which English enterprise was not yet prepared to give up, in connection with which the earliest American colonies were planned and supported, at least from some quarters, and which no failures seemed able to stop.

John Davis, like Frobisher, was the agent of an important syndicate. 'Certain honourable personages and gentle-

¹ 'Carved and cut with sundry devices all over the body.'

² Java and Sumatra.

³ Adorned with a church, a 'causey,' and a great freestone cross set up in 1571. Cf. Linschoten's account of the destruction wrought by Candish in the island.

men of the court and country, with divers merchants of London and the west country, consulting together of the north-west passage, which had been given over by accidents unlooked for, resolved to provide for necessary shipping and a fit man to be conductor.'

On June 7, 1585, he started from Dartmouth with the 'Sunshine' and 'Moonshine,' of fifty and thirty-five tons respectively. On July 19 he heard the rolling of the drift ice through the fog; on July 20 he sighted the land, 'the most deformed, rocky, and mountainous that ever we saw.' The first glimpse of it 'shewed as it had been in form of a sugar loaf,' the snow mountains appearing over the fog and clouds 'like a white list in the sky:' the shore was beset with ice, 'making such irksome noise that it seemed to be the true pattern of desolation, and so our captain named it,' the Land of Desolation.

Coasting along this uninviting country, they had drift-wood floating by every day in the 'black and thick water, like to a filthy standing pool ;' and soon Davis came in sight of the people of the country, who were no friendlier to him than they had been to Frobisher, though at first he thought them 'void of craft and easily to be brought to any civility,' and his men for some time trafficked with them busily enough.¹

On July 31 the ships started again to follow up the north-west track, and on August 6 discovered land in 66° , 'altogether void of the pester of ice,' and anchored in a 'fair road, under a brave mount, with a sound compassing the mount, and a foreland,' which they named Totnes Road, Mount Raleigh, Exeter Sound, and Cape Walsingham. On August 11 Davis came to the most southerly cape of this land, 'of God's mercy,' and in spite of foggy weather his hopes of the passage rose high; he and his men saw indications of what they looked for in the smallest trifles, but on August 24 the signs of approaching storms warned him to turn back and he repassed

¹ They made a 'lamentable noise' when first sighted, 'screeching like the howling of wolves.'

the Land of Desolation on September 10, reappearing in Dartmouth on September 30.

With perverse ingenuity, comfort was extracted out of the most adverse facts ; the 'way by the north-west' was declared to be practically open, and Davis set out in 1586 with four ships in the greatest show of confidence that could be. Sighting land on June 15 and 29 where he had touched the year before, he struggled through enormous masses of broken ice, and in face of 'very stickle and strong currents,' till on July 24, finding all the shrouds, ropes, and sails frozen, and the seas which last year were navigable, now 'encompassed with ice and gross fog,' all 'hope was banished of proceeding.' The Esquimaux too, though at first the captain thought they 'hung about with such comfortable joy as would require a long discourse to be uttered,' were now found to be enchanters, 'though to small purpose, thanks be to God,' and what was even worse, 'marvellous thievish.'¹

Altering therefore his course to east-south-east, the Admiral was able by August 2 to harbour his ships 'in an excellent good road' in 66 degrees, and thence to keep a north-west course for fifty leagues, with great hope of a 'through passage' by Davis's Straits. Till August 28 he continued coasting from 67 to 57 degrees and noticed that the country was well stocked with birds and woodland. On September 4, 'among great store of isles,' he had a 'perfect hope of the passage, finding a mighty sea passing between two lands west.'

But the wind stood obstinately against further progress : two men were murdered on shore and two desperately wounded by the 'brutish people of the country,' and on September 6 'it pleased God further to increase our sorrows with a mighty storm.' It was only His 'as mighty mercy' that 'gave succour,' said the English captain, and with tempests

¹ At first Davis declared this only 'ministered occasion of laughter to him and he ordered his men to treat them gently, supposed it to be hard in so short a time to make them know their evils ;' but afterwards he got as angry as his men. From the first he let the Esquimaux know plainly that he 'did contemn their sorcery,' which, at any rate, would clear their minds. The worst thing about them was their way of 'practising their devilish nature with slings and stones.'

blowing right in his teeth, he had nothing left but to 'shape his course' for England (September 11). 'I have now brought the passage,'¹ he reported at home with a proud and pathetic hoping against hope, 'to that certainty, as that I am sure it must be in one of four places or not at all.'

Davis's third and last attempt was in 1587. On May 19 he sailed from Dartmouth with 'two boats and a clincher,' the last 'much bragged of by report, but which proved at sea to be like a cart drawn with oxen.' Sighting land at five in the morning of June 14, the English quickly fell in with the natives, who were soon at their old tricks, stripping the iron off the pinnace, hurling stones, and afterwards trying to barter, offering 'birds for bracelets,' and showing pieces of 'unicorn's horn' (narwhal?). On June 30 Davis was off the 'land called London coast,' in 72° , with the sea all open to the west and north. Naming the furthest point of this Hope Sanderson,² the Admiral pressed on till he fell in with a 'mighty bank of ice' to the westward (on July 2), and found the wind would not let him 'double out to the north.'

On the 19th he 'had sight' of his old friend Mount Raleigh, and by the same evening was 'athwart of the straits discovered the first year,' but with stormy weather and 'frisking gales' at the north-west preventing any further progress, he was at last forced to turn back on August 15, after naming the fresh discovered places in compliment to his friends.³ He noticed 'forcible currents westward' in 61° , and believed as implicitly as ever that only accident prevented his full success, 'having been in 73° , and finding the sea all open and forty leagues between land and land.'⁴

By the side of an arctic failure we have also to remember

¹ On the outward course (second voyage) Davis had divided his fleet, sending two ships to seek the passage between Greenland and Iceland to the latitude of 80° if possible. These crews performed at least the first part of their task and then fell to desperate fighting with the Esquimaux.

² After one of our chief merchant patrons of these ventures.

³ Earl of Cumberland's Isles, Lumley's Inlet, Warwick's Foreland, Chidlie's Cape, Darcie's Island.

⁴ Thus he found hope in Lumley's Inlet, &c., in the great 'ruts of the water, whirling and oversalling as it were the fall of some great water through a bridge.'

two others in tropical or semi-tropical quarters of the world. The Virginia colony and the 'trial of Guiana' did not come to any permanent success under Elizabeth. And yet those ventures did as much for England at this time as any single enterprise. For it was largely by means of the failures that the great successes were won, in exploration as elsewhere. It was through the fruitless enterprises in the far north-east and north-west, in Guiana, and in Roanoak, as much as through the triumphs of Drake and Cavendish and Chancellor and Jenkinson, that the expansion of England was carried on—that the men of England were trained to feel at home in every country and on every sea.

We have seen how in 1585 a settlement had been made in Virginia, and Ralph Lane (and Hariot) left in charge. Here they soon made one of the most fruitful of English discoveries : that in this 'continent of unknown greatness' there was a natural wealth such that no 'realm in Christendom were comparable to it ;' and that 'what commodities soever Spain, France, Italy, or the East parts do yield to us, these parts do abound with them all.'

The settlement was at first in Roanoak Island, but a site of such goodness was found on the mainland that Lane¹ thought of moving there. The river hard by was, he thought, as broad as the Thames at Greenwich ; 'marvellous minerals' were said to be found in the upper country ; the fertility of the land was matchless. Unhappily the savages began to plot against the colony, which thus soon came 'to their dogs' porridge, that they had bespoken for themselves if that befel them which did.' Lane had to outmatch the savages at their own treacherous weapons—'our watchword was Christ our victory'—and the relief was universal when (June 1, 1586) a great fleet of twenty-three ships under Francis Drake was sighted off the coast. He was on his way home from the West Indies, and came to supply the colony's necessities.

¹ Lane and Hariot were the two keenest observers of the colony. Hariot combined something of the missionary, the botanist, and the farmer with the foresight and breadth of a statesman's view.

But a storm¹ prevented his revictualling ship from entering the harbour, and the colonists, who had at first only thought of sending home the weak and unfit, became eager to escape in a body. They implored Lane not to reject 'the very hand of God, stretched out to take' them thence,² but to get Drake to take them home. He at once agreed, but in embarking, 'most of all they had, with their cards, books, and writings,' were cast overboard. And so ended the first English colony in Virginia.

But immediately after their 'departing out of this paradise of the world' a third expedition, equipped by Raleigh, arrived there, spent some time in vainly searching for Lane's settlers, and returned; and a fortnight later Grenville himself, as governor of Virginia, brought the long promised succour. Finding the colony gone, yet unwilling to 'lose the possession of the country, and determined to retain' it, he left behind fifteen men in Roanoak with provisions for two years.

The 'brief and true report of the new found land of Virginia' imputes the failure of the first colony in great measure to the 'nice bringing up' of many of the colonists,³ and to the 'variable reports,' with 'slanderous and shameful speeches bruited abroad,' of the different attempts at settlement. Hariot, writing on behalf of Ralph Lane in 1587, answers these objections at great length, with the practical conclusion, 'seeing the air there is so wholesome, the soil so fertile, the voyage also performed twice a year with ease and at any season, and the dealing of the chief enterpriser (Raleigh) so liberal, I hope there remains no cause why the action should be disliked,' of persisting in the Virginia colony.

The next step was also due to Raleigh. In 1587 he sent

¹ The storm indeed was so bad that it 'had like to have driven all on shore if the Lord had not held His holy arm over them.'

² One argument was 'seeing our hope for supply with Sir Richard Grenville, so undoubtedly promised before Easter, not yet come, neither likely.'

³ Because there were not any English cities, nor such fair houses, nor any of their accustomed dainty food, nor any soft beds of down and feathers, the country was to them miserable and the report thereof according.

over John White and 150 men, giving them a charter of incorporation as founders of the ‘city of Raleigh in Virginia.’ Starting on May 8, they were off the American coast on July 22, and White landed on Roanoak only to find Lane’s old fort rased, the houses overgrown with melons, and deer within them ‘feeding on these melons.’ Hostilities soon began with the savages, who murdered an Englishman they found straying, and beat his head in pieces with their wooden swords ; but on August 18 a child was born in the settlement, who was named Virginia (Virginia Dare), ‘as being the first Christian born there.’ Soon after this White, the governor, after ‘extreme entreating,’ consented to return home for fresh supplies, some ninety men, seventeen women, and eleven children ‘remaining to inhabit.’

The last of these Virginian expeditions under Elizabeth is that of 1590. A letter of John White’s, under date February 4, 1593, describes its ill-success and divides the blame impartially between governors, masters, and sailors for ‘regarding very smally’ the good of the colonists, but being ‘wholly determined to seek after purchase and spoils.’

Starting on March 20 (1590) on his fifth American voyage, White landed in Roanoak on August 16, near where the colony had been left in 1587. But finding nothing—‘no man nor sign’—he searched high and low till he came upon the message carved on tree trunks, that the settlers had moved away, and found in an old trench five chests that had been hidden by the planters, with ‘many of my own things spoiled, my books torn from the covers, the frames of my maps and pictures rotten with rain, and my armour almost eaten through with rust.’ White wished to stay and help the fugitive settlers if he could discover them, but the rest of the company, terrified by the weather and the dangers of the coast, forced him to ‘go for England.’

The remarkable voyage of Bartholomew Goswold in 1602, which resulted in the discovery of Cape Cod and Buzzard’s Bay,¹ and the erection of a fort and storehouse on Cuttyhunk,

¹ Gosnold’s Hope.

was the venture of a man of genius who revived the old route of the Cabots, direct to the nearest shores of North America, and who unsuccessfully tried to found our first New England colony. It was not of a piece with the Virginian enterprises ; it was, and was meant to be, an improvement upon them.

The discovery of Guiana was the last, the most mistaken and the most fruitless, of the great enterprises of Elizabethan explorers and colonisers.

Raleigh, like many others, had been deeply bitten with the delusive hope of finding that richer Peru, called Guiana, El Dorado, or the empire of Manoa, which adventurers of the time declared they had discovered, and which one tradition traced back to the invasion of the Pizarros and a migration of the Inca's subjects from the Pacific towards the Atlantic coasts of South America.

Captain Whiddon had been sent out in 1594 to reconnoitre the approach to Guiana, and on Thursday, February 6, 1595, Raleigh himself started with the main force supposed to be bound only for the relief of the English in Virginia. Arrived off Trinidad, he first explored the entrances to the great waterways which he hoped would lead him into the heart of Manoa ; but the pilots proved incompetent—‘if God had not sent us another help, we might have wandered a whole year in that labyrinth¹ of rivers’—and after pushing 400 miles into the country, observing and describing all he saw in a ‘chart of discovery,’ marvelling at the tropical beauty of the river-side—the grass, the trees, the birds, the deer, all so splendid that it was a ‘good passing of the time’ only to see them—Raleigh’s ‘heart grew cold to behold the great rage and increase of the Orinoco,’ and he gave over the enterprise for the time, but without losing his hope. Like the adventurers in the north-

¹ ‘For all the earth does not yield the like confluence of streams and branches, the one crossing the other so many times, and all so fair and large, and so like one to another, that as no man can tell which to take, one would be carried in a circle amongst multitudes of islands,’ all bordered with high trees, shutting out any distinct view. The Orinoco alone had nine branches on the north, and seven other ‘fallings into the sea, on the south’ (?). The islands between these arms were often as big as the Isle of Wight.

west, failure only seemed to make his certainty of success more sure ; he was convinced that the 'sun covered not more riches in any part of the earth ;' the land was the most healthy in the world ; Manoa, once taken, would be impregnable, for it 'hath the strongest situation of any region ;' old prophecies declared that the Incas should be 'restored from Inglaterra ;' 'whatsoever prince shall possess it shall be greatest, and if the King of Spain enjoy it he will become irresistible.'

Yet this belief, expressed with all the passionate eloquence of passionate conviction, was without any firmer ground than the stories which the English gathered in the same country, of the miraculous virtues of the Armadillo,¹ and of monstrous tribes with eyes and mouths between their shoulders, or the 'undoubted assurance of gold' they looked for from the ore now brought home. They were certain so many people 'could not all combine or forethink' to cheat them. Raleigh quotes Mandeville to bear out some of his marvels, as if that authority clenched the case ; he had yet to learn that his pleasant prospects were not bound to be anywhere out of fairyland because 'every child affirms the same.' El Dorado remained inaccessible, in spite of the repeated attempts of Raleigh and Keymis in 1596 and 1597, because, like the ideal city of philosophers, the 'pattern of it was laid up in heaven,' not to be found anywhere on earth.²

These four illustrations of English exploring and colonising energy at the end of the sixteenth century must end this short account of Elizabethan enterprise. Of the voyages³ to

¹ A preservative against poison 'as . . . sovereign as any unicorn's horn,' as Thomas James reports to Burleigh, September 14, 1591, about the walrus ivory of the north.

² Raleigh makes a great point of the natives' hatred of the Spaniards, and of his own good treatment of the former. Thus 'I protest before the majesty of the living God' that none of the English 'ever took any of their women,' though they had many 'young and excellently favoured in their power.' Also his men never took 'pine or potato' without 'giving them contentment.'

³ Cf. (1) of voyages to the St. Lawrence, &c. ; John James's account in letter to Burleigh September 14, 1591, of the discovery of the Isle of Ramea from St. Malo, the voyage of M. Hill of Redrife in the 'Marigold' to Cape Breton in 1593, of

Cape Breton and the St. Lawrence, to Brazil and the 'River of Plate,' to the West Indies, to Newfoundland, the Cape Verde Islands, and other outlying parts of the ocean that English seamen had now made their home ; of the various attempts to reach the South Sea, or Pacific, which got no further than Magellan's Straits or some point on the coast of South America ; of disastrous failures such as those of the Earl of Cumberland and of Cavendish in his last voyages, it may be enough to say that they are only passed by as being less representative of the main lines of national expansion at this time. Though most interesting in themselves, they only add detail, for the most part, to the various sides of a movement which has already been sketched in outline ; they are subordinate examples of the development of the spirit which is still better shown in those leading and typical achievements of

George Drake of Apsham to Ramea in 1593, of Rice Jones in the 'Grace' of Bristol to the St. Lawrence in 1594 ; of Charles Leigh to Cape Breton and Ramea in 1597. (2) of voyages to South America, James Lancaster's journey to Brazil; 1594 ; Thomas Candish's last voyage in 1591-3 to Magellan's Straits ; the Earl of Cumberland's expedition in 1586 'intended for the South Sea,' but performed but little further than the River of Plate, and the same Earl's attempt in 1594 which went only to the Azores. (3) of voyages to the West Indies, those of Sir Robert Duddeley in 1594-5 ; of Sir Amyas Preston in 1595 ; of Sir Anthony Sherley, the Persian and Russian traveller of 1601, &c., in 1596-7, and the last voyage of the great sea kings Drake and Hawkins in 1595. (4) of other voyages, those of Richard Rainolds and Thomas Daniel in 1591 ; of Sir John Burrough in 1592, and of the 'Tobie' in 1593, which all stopped at or came to grief upon the west coast of Africa. Among these enterprises, Preston's 'entered Jamaica' in 1595 ; Lancaster's in 1594 was of purely military interest, but shows the aggressive Protestantism of English sailors in the bitterest manner ; Duddeley's in 1594 is remarkable for its ships' names, the 'Bear,' the 'Frisking,' and the 'Earwig,' like the 'Why not I' of Cumberland's fleet in 1594, and the wreck of the 'Tobie' near Cape Sprat in 1593, with the dying men singing their metrical psalms, 'Help, Lord, for good and godly men,' reads like a chapter of Cromwellian Puritanism.

What was done by Hudson and Baffin under Elizabeth we do not know, they only appear in 1607, 1612 respectively. But Hudson was born in 1550, and both of them really belong to the Elizabethan age.

The spirit of the new enterprise was never better expressed than by Duddeley's confession, 'having ever since I could conceive of anything, been delighted with the discoveries of navigation, I fostered in myself that disposition till I was of more years and better ability to undertake such a matter.'

a great epoch which we have tried to follow, and they can all be read at length in Hakluyt, 'the prose epic of the modern English nation, our unrivalled treasure of material for the history of geography, discovery, and colonisation, our best collection of the exploits of the heroes in whom the new era was revealed.'

THE TUDORS AND THE CURRENCY, 1526-1560.

By C. W. C. OMAN, M.A., F.S.A.

IT is the special boast and glory of the English currency that for more than a thousand years it has maintained its original weight and purity in a far higher degree than any of its neighbours. In the whole course of our history only one severe shock has been given to the credit of the English coinage, the one with which this paper deals. Save in this one single case, the currency has been spared by even the worst, the weakest, and the most unfortunate of our rulers. In the clash of the Norman Conquest, in the evil days of King John, in the long thriftless administration of Henry III., in the anarchy of the Wars of the Roses, in the sharpest stress of the Great Rebellion, no ruler of England ever laid hands on the coin of the realm to alloy its purity or cut down its size. It is true that in the attrition of the ages the first of English coins, the venerable silver penny, has sunk to about one-third of its original weight. Offa, its first creator, struck it to the standard of 22 grains ; Queen Victoria's Maundy penny of to-day weighs $7\frac{1}{4}$ grains. But this shrinkage has been due not to deliberate dishonesty in any series of kings or ministers, but to the variations of the ratio between gold and silver in the last five centuries, since the day when Edward III. first added gold money to the currency of the realm. When Edward III., or Henry IV., or Edward IV., from time to time reduced the size of their silver pieces, they did it to bring under-valued silver money into its proper relation to their gold coins, not in order to fill their own pockets. For from the year 1344 to the year 1816 England was cursed with a bimetallic system of currency, and

felt acutely every variation in the ratio of the red and the white metal. Whenever silver rose in value the Government set things right for the moment by reducing the weight of the silver money. In the course of time another crisis arose, and then came a further reduction. This process only ceased with the final introduction of a single gold standard in the days of our own grandfathers. In no single period, save in the years 1543–1551, was this cutting down of the weight of silver in the penny or the shilling a dishonest and deliberately immoral act on the part of the Government.

Foreign countries were not so fortunate. In no other country of Europe has the original coin-standard shrunk so little as in England. In the year 800 the English penny of King Offa and the denarius of Charles the Great current in France, Germany, and Italy, were the same in all respects; for Offa's coin was a deliberate copy of that of Charles, so that the word denarius, the proper name of the Frankish coin, was always used as the Latin equivalent of our own penny. Hence comes the *d.* printed at the head of our pence-column in the reckonings of to-day. The English penny, as we have already said, has decreased to one-third of its former self in the last thousand years. But the fall of the denarius of the Continent has been far more humiliating. The Carlovingian denarius was the parent of the French *denier*, the German *pfennig*, the Italian *danaro*. Now the *denier* in France had by the end of the eighteenth century shrunk into one-twelfth of the *sou*, which was itself one-twentieth of the *livre*, a coin practically equivalent to the modern franc. A denier of Louis XV. was therefore only worth about one-seventieth of a denarius of Charlemagne. Similarly in Germany the pfennig of to-day, one-hundredth part of the silver mark, is but one-twenty-fifth of its ancient self. It started at about 22 grains of silver; but would now (if so small a piece could be struck for use) be of about the weight of .86 of one grain. Other European money standards show similar results.

The one occasion when the English coinage was deliberately mishandled and abused by a dishonest ruler took

place in the reign of Henry VIII., and with it we have to treat in this paper. When that prince ascended the throne, the English coinage was in an eminently satisfactory condition. With all his faults Henry VII. had been a thrifty and economical administrator, the kingdom was unusually prosperous under his rule, and the growth of monetary transactions is shown by the fact that—first of all English sovereigns—he was able to coin large gold and silver money. The shilling, previously mere money of account, was by Henry of Richmond produced, as a fine piece weighing 144 grains, and bearing on its obverse the King's head, the first portrait ever seen on English money. Similarly the double-rial, or 20s. piece, which was soon afterwards to be called the 'sovereign,' appeared in the year 1503. Thus Henry VII. simplified all calculations, by giving to his nation the tangible pieces of money which corresponded to the names in use. How hard it must have been to count up large sums of money into pounds and shillings, when the coins in hand were nobles of 8s. 4d., angels of 6s. 8d., and groats of 4d., we find it difficult to realise. To break with old tradition and give a meaning to the old names was an unqualified boon. If we ask the causes of Henry's change, we must content ourselves with a general answer that the growth of monetary transactions to the prejudice of payments in kind must continually have been increasing, that although *prices* had remained practically stationary for an unprecedentedly long period, yet the *quantity* of business was growing, and that therefore people who were continually expending shillings, felt the inconvenience of having to pay everything in groats; e.g. if anyone had to pay a 10s. bill, how much more time and trouble would he take in counting out 30 groats than 10 shillings!

It is well worth our while to remark in Henry VII.'s coinage the working of the artistic spirit of the Renaissance as well as that of the growth of trade. Ever since Edward III. the aspect of English money had remained the same; the conventional full-faced king's head, with its wooden mediæval

smile was repeated for king after king without variation ; Edward III. might be an old and bearded man, Richard II. a young boy, but the same stereotyped head was repeated from the coin of the former on to that of the latter. Similarly, the noble still retained its king standing with drawn sword in his tub-like little sailing boat, the 'ship' of which the Flemings (making a pun which holds good in our language as well as in theirs) said that it should be exchanged for a sheep, since England's naval power was declining while its wool trade was ever growing larger. Henry broke with these time-honoured conventionalities ; he placed on the shilling an excellent portrait of himself with a side-face, quite unlike the mediæval full-face, and showing the awakening of England to real as opposed to conventional art. So, too, on his sovereign appeared a full-length figure of himself seated in state on his royal throne beneath his royal canopy—a representation showing more traces of mediævalism than the portrait head on the shilling, but wanting the attribute of stiffness which it would have shown a hundred years earlier.

Henry died in 1509, leaving behind him a treasure which contemporary chroniclers estimated at three or even four millions sterling, but which Bacon calculates at only 1,800,000*l.* This last, however, was an enormous sum enough, when we consider the value of money at that date. It was not to remain much longer laid up in the cellars of Richmond Palace ; on the side of political economy hoarding may be bad, but from the point of view of the English nation the use which Henry VIII. made of his father's hoards was far more disastrous.

England had now for nearly sixty years remained aloof from the confusion of Continental politics. First the civil wars, then the wise policy of non-intervention pursued by Henry VII., had kept her from being sucked into the whirlpool. Both Edward IV., indeed, and Henry himself, had appeared with armies on French soil, but their invasions were momentary and episodic ; they brought money to England rather than spent it, for each of them allowed himself to be

bribed into a prompt departure, and made no real attempt to enforce the old claims which had cost so much blood and treasure during the Hundred Years' War. The period of non-intervention was now at an end, and with it was to depart the long spell of internal prosperity which England had enjoyed in the fifteenth century. Few historical facts are more extraordinary than the stationary condition of English life during the period which was now drawing to a close. From the Black Death to the beginning of Henry VIII.'s interference in foreign politics the price of living appears, if we look at Professor Thorold Rogers' figures, to have remained almost unchanged. The part of the nation which worked and saved was steadily maintaining its prosperity. Not even the great French war—a war, indeed, fought on French ground and to a great extent with French money—could stop the growth of England. The long struggle of York and Lancaster seems to us who look back on it to have been a period of horror—yet 'nobody seemed one penny the worse'—only the barons and their retainers, who made their way to some convenient heath or hillside, and there slaughtered each other by the thousand. The nation sat at its ease in plenty and contentment, and though the rival factions slew each other before its judgment seat, cared for none of these things, like Gallio of old. I need hardly repeat the well-known fact that the struggle was waged with less general rapine and ravaging than any mediaeval civil war of which we have knowledge. Except the harrying of the towns along the line of the Great North Road by Queen Margaret's northern moss-troopers in the winter of 1460-61, there is hardly an instance of wanton destruction of life or property that can be quoted.¹ The middle and lower classes refused to take sides in the quarrel, and submitted to each victorious party in turn, so that the storm practically passed over their heads. The years 1455-85 were a time of growing wealth, expanding commerce, increased civilisation. When tried by that excellent test of

¹ I can only remember the Earl of Devon's sack of Exeter and the Earl of Wilts' plunder of Hungerford in 1459.

prosperity, the amount of church-building which they show, compared with the generation before and the generation after, they account for an astonishing number of the large, well-lighted perpendicular churches which are the glory of Cotswold and East Anglia. The struggle, indeed, had no visible influence for evil on the country's prosperity, perhaps it may even have worked indirectly for good ; the carnage of Towton and Barnet must have had a considerable effect in thinning that superfluous population whose descendants were a hundred years later to become the 'sturdy and valiant beggars' of the reigns of Henry VIII. and Edward VI.

Our digression has, perhaps, extended too far ; let us return to the sixteenth century. Henry was no sooner established on the throne than he set to work to throw away his father's accumulated wealth in the pursuit of that intangible and chimerical prize, the Balance of Power. To endeavour to establish any abiding status in a Europe whose direction was in the hands of such dishonest politicians as Louis XII. and Maximilian of Austria, or Francis I. and Charles V., was a pursuit as hopeless as the brain of man ever conceived. If Henry had owned the philosopher's stone, and possessed the patience of Job, he could not have been successful. The trimmer may find a pleasure in making his power felt as he swings from side to side, but he will never earn either honest attachment or respect. All through the thirty years' duel of Francis and Charles, the power of England was courted by the party which for the moment felt itself weaker ; but when the balance began to incline the other way, Henry would find himself deserted by his friend, who felt that he had been supported merely because the balance of power required that he should not be reduced to too low a condition. England would then ally herself with her enemy of yesterday, and the whole process repeated itself again.

In this endless alternation of wars Henry was enabled to spend two such hoards as had never before been in the hands of an English king--his father's savings and the plunder of the monasteries. When once Henry VII.'s accumulations

were gone, and the long course of foreign wars entered upon, it became a mere matter of time to calculate in how many years Henry would be driven to desperate expedients to recruit his exchequer. From 1515 to 1523 he lived from hand to mouth on the proceeds of forced loans and benevolences. In the parliament of the latter year Wolsey calculated that to provide for the French war then in progress, it would be necessary to raise 800,000*l.*, by taking the fifth of every man's goods and land, to be paid in four years—a demand of unparalleled magnitude, as the king had already got two shillings in the pound by way of loan. Instead of his twenty per cent. tax, the Cardinal obtained only a grant of five per cent. for two years, and Henry's financial difficulties continued to increase. The *régime* of benevolences commenced again, and the king was glad to get money in any manner devisable. In 1526 the coinage was for the first time in his reign made the subject of his experiments, though on a small scale compared to the gain which he afterwards made of it.

On July 25 in that year a writ was issued : 'To Thomas, Cardinal Archbishop of York, Legate a Latere of the See Apostolic, Primate of England, and Chancellor of the same,' commanding him to carry into effect the king's desire for reducing his money, and to determine its rate, value, fineness, lay, standard and print, as should by him and the Council be thought requisite.' This lowering of the standard—unlike all the later experiments of Henry VIII.—was not a deliberate attempt to debase the coinage of the realm for the king's benefit. It was only one of a thousand vain endeavours to remedy a change in the ratio between gold and silver by lessening the sterling contents of the coins of the metal which was at the moment appreciating. The causes given for the present lowering of the gold currency were the usual ones : there was an efflux of gold money from England, because, as the commissioners alleged, the English coins were so much better in quality than those of foreign princes 'that they were taken abroad and melted in France and Flanders, the price of gold therein being rated so high that the money of

the realm was transported thither by merchants, as well denizens as aliens.' 'Now the king had made requisition to several foreign princes for the reformation of their coins without effect. Also, he had commanded statutes against the export of money to be put in execution, yet nevertheless it was still secretly exported. Therefore, that gold and coin might remain and be plenteously brought into the kingdom, his majesty deemed it necessary to make all money current within the realm to be of like price as it was valued at in foreign countries.' The way his majesty set to work on this laudable design was by proclaiming that in future the sovereign should be worth 22*s.* 6*d.*, the half-sovereign 11*s.* 3*d.*, and the angel 7*s.* 6*d.*—instead of 20*s.*, 10*s.*, and 6*s.* 8*d.* respectively; whereby every holder of coin found himself twelve per cent. richer, but every creditor, though receiving the same *nominal* amount, would receive only eight-ninths as much bullion. It is hardly necessary to remind ourselves that Henry was in the debtor class, not in the creditor class, at the time. Leaving his father's and his own early pieces to circulate at the very inconvenient rate newly affixed to them, Henry set to work to coin gold and silver at the twelve per cent. reduction: a 'George noble' to pass for 6*s.* 8*d.*, though it contained gold to the value of 5*s.* 11 $\frac{1}{3}$ *d.* alone of the old standard; a gold crown, nominally 5*s.*, but at the old value equal to 4*s.* 5 $\frac{1}{3}$ *d.*; and silver shillings, which would equal 10 $\frac{2}{3}$ *d.*

It is only fair to concede in Henry's justification that the difficulty of exchange which he pleaded as his excuse did really exist. Hall and Holinshed remind us that in the English coinage six angels, which weighed exactly an ounce, were exchangeable for 40*s.*, or 12 ounces of silver coin. But in Flanders, Zealand, and Brabant the Government would give silver coin to the weight of 44 shillings, or 14 $\frac{2}{3}$ ounces of silver bullion, for the amount of gold contained in six English angels. It was therefore profitable to take English gold abroad, sell it for silver bullion, and bring that bullion back into England to be coined at the mint. Henry's fault lay in trying to be a bimetallist, to make both his gold and his

silver coins worth their exact amount ; he could not see that the relative value of the two was continually changing, and that, unless he was prepared to alter their weight and fineness every few months, the equilibrium of gold and silver could not be kept up. There were several devices which he could have used with better effect from his own point of view :—

(1) He might have left the silver coins at their old size and purity, and enhanced the nominal value of his gold coins, or ‘cried them up,’ as the phrase then was.

(2) He might have left the names of his gold coins the same, but put less gold into each, while leaving the silver unchanged.

(3) He might have left the gold unchanged, but put more grains of silver into each of his shillings and groats. But all these would have been mere palliatives. It would have been too much to expect that Henry would take the only real remedial step—viz. to forbid all contracts in silver, refuse it when tendered for any sum over 1*l.* or 2*l.*, and decline to coin it at the mint when presented in inconvenient quantities.

As a matter of fact, by shifting the weight both of gold and silver, he established a momentary equilibrium in the exchange of gold and silver with Flanders, but committed himself to further difficulties in the near future.

Henry further showed his ignorance of economical principles by ‘forbidding any person to raise the price of any wares and merchandise under colour of the money being enhanced.’ This practically meant that everyone should take 12½ per cent. less for that which he had to sell than he would have taken in 1525.

Wolsey, having charge of the coinage of which we have been speaking, caused such of the groats as were struck at York to be stamped, by way of mint mark, with his cardinal’s hat, a fact which was remembered against him when the articles of 1529 were exhibited. These charged him as follows : ‘The said Lord Cardinal of his further pompous and presumptuous mind hath enterprised to join and imprint

the Cardinal's hat under your Majesty's arms in your coin of groats at your city of York, which like deed hath not as yet been seen to have been done by any subject within your realm before this time.' This, however, even Henry's judges could not venture to wrest into an offence against any existing law, as it was proved that many of those who had previously been responsible for local mints had stamped their family badges, and notably the bishops of Durham their episcopal crosier, on the coins issued in their districts.

Henry's depreciated coinage was followed by an immediate rise in the price of most staple commodities, in spite of his absurd ordinance to the contrary. The quarter of wheat averaged 6*s.* 5*d.* in the six years previous to the recoinage ; in the six years after it ran to the unprecedentedly high average of 8*s.* 10*d.* The great impetus which cattle breeding was receiving at the time prevented the price of oxen and sheep ascending at anything like the same rate. By the reacting of the same cause, the price of labour remained stationary, for the increased cattle breeding was driving many agricultural labourers off the land, and thus the increase of supply of labour quite counterbalanced the decrease in the value of money, which (had the labour remained the same) must have led to something like a 12 per cent. rise.

Henry's first tampering with the coinage was not for some time renewed. By one expedient and another he made ends meet, till the great epoch of the plundering of the monasteries arrived. Then for a time he found himself as wealthy, and even far more wealthy, than he had been when, twenty-seven years before, his father's treasure-chamber was opened to him. From 1536 to 1542 his prodigal waste was supplied, and the heaped-up treasures of centuries passed through his hands in quantities that would have glutted the maw of any sovereign but himself. But by 1542 all was exhausted, and the king again began to incur large debts. There was no such resource as the confiscation of monastic property now open to him, and six years of wilful waste had made him more reckless and headstrong than ever. In 1543

his parliament relieved him of the payment of the loans which he had made in the previous year, but this was of little account to Henry. He hated economy ; his old debts were no sooner cleared off than he proceeded to plunge into further expenditure, and in the same year he resumed his experiments with the currency.

The measures of 1543 differ in kind from any other dealings with the money of the realm that had been essayed by Henry's predecessors. Hitherto all the successive reductions of the coinage had been carried out with an honest if ignorant desire to save the realm from financial troubles, by establishing a working ratio between gold and silver. The recoinage of 1527 had been of this kind ; the weight of the currency had been tampered with but not its purity. Now, however, the king made a deliberate attempt to cheat his creditors by the issue of base money. Both gold and silver were attacked ; the sovereigns and nobles were left comparatively untouched ; the alloy in gold money was only increased by 2 dwt. in the pound. But in silver pieces the proportion of alloy was suddenly raised from one-thirteenth to one-fifth in each coin. Instead of being 11 ounces 2 dwt. fine, the new money contained in each pound-weight 10 ounces of silver and 2 ounces of alloy.

Nor was this all ; the pound of gold, which since 1527 had been coined into 20*l.* of money, was now to be coined into 28*l.*, and similarly the pound of silver into 48*s.* instead of 45*s.*

If Henry had confined this operation to the gold there would have been comparatively little harm in it. The debasement of the standard was not very great, and the purity of it was still greater than that of many of the current gold coins of Europe. But the debasing of the silver was a fatal expedient when gold and silver were alike legal tender to any amount. The gold was now $\frac{2}{3}$ fine, i.e. one grain of gold was valued at 1·252 pence. The silver, being only five-sixths fine, one grain of silver was thus valued at 1·2 of a penny, or almost exactly one-tenth of the value of gold.¹ But

¹ The alloy being left out of account in each case.

all over Europe at the time gold was worth more than ten times its weight of silver : in France in 1540 the proportion was 1 to 11.82, in the Low Countries 10.62, in Germany 11.38. The fact was that the influx of silver from America was just beginning to make itself felt, silver was growing appreciably cheaper than it had been of old, and the fact was beginning to register itself in all the continental currencies.

The immediate consequence of issuing a coinage in which too little silver bought a golden sovereign was of course that gold began to pour out of England. The English merchant found himself obliged to pay his bills abroad with the comparatively fine gold, since the over-valued silver was refused by his continental correspondent, to whom it was only worth ten-twelfths of its nominal value. Of course the export of gold was privy and secret ; English kings always frowned on the sending over seas of the noble metal, and laid all sorts of pains and penalties on the exporter, when he was unfortunate enough to be caught. Nevertheless, the gold went, for no government can ever be so Argus-eyed as to detect and prevent the merchant's well-laid plans for shipping off the commodity.

The chief result, therefore, of Henry's debased silver coinage of 1543 was that the current gold money of the realm began silently and imperceptibly to vanish away over seas, and to be more and more replaced in ordinary use by over-valued shillings and groats with their one-fifth of alloy. Meanwhile, however, by using the fatal device, the king had paid off debts with only five-sixths of the weight of silver that he would have required had the coinage been pure.

Yet did not this content him ; hardly had a year elapsed when, in desperation, the now hardened criminal threw all prudence to the winds. 1545 was a year of misfortune for England ; not only had she suffered the defeat of Ancrum Moor on the Scotch frontier, but the French were pressing on her with a vigour unknown before. For the first time since the reign of Richard II. England was seriously threatened with a foreign invasion. A French fleet had

mustered at Havre which far exceeded any force that Henry could bring against it ; there were 60,000 men on board the French vessels, and Francis meant mischief. Henry was at his wits' end ; he raised 120,000 men and distributed them in four armies, three on the south and east coasts, one in Northumberland. In addition he got together every ship that could be utilised for warlike purposes, from Hull to the Land's End. The danger was really pressing, and the expense enormous. After alarming all England for months the French came down ; they fought an indecisive naval battle in the Solent, they landed small forces in the Isle of Wight, in Sussex, and in Kent ; then sickness broke out in their crowded ships, and they returned to Havre without doing further damage. England was safe, but Henry's finances were at the lowest ebb that he had yet known. The pay and equipment of his army and navy had cost him enormous sums ; there were no resources to discharge them. Then all moderation was thrown aside and the coinage treated in a reckless manner. Instead of $\frac{2}{3}$ fine, the sovereign was reduced to $\frac{2}{4}$, and 30*l.*, not 28*l.*, were coined from the pound of gold. The weight of the silver remained the same as in 1543, but no less than half of copper alloy was mixed with the good metal. By this change a grain of gold was now evaluated at 1.353 pence, while a grain of silver became worth 2 of a penny. Instead, therefore, of gold standing in the already too low proportion of 10 to 1 to silver, it was now placed at the absurd relation of 6.765 to 1. This too was in face of a slight but steady tendency of silver to grow more and more plentiful and cheap. Instead of ebbing slowly away, gold disappeared wholesale. But Henry had not yet filled up the full measure of his iniquities. In 1546 he was still unable to pay his way, and in sheer desperation the gold was brought down to $\frac{3}{4}$ fine, the silver to one-third fine, there being actually in the new shilling twice as much copper as silver. Hence the grain of gold was now worth 1.5 pence, that of silver 3 of a penny, i.e. gold was only valued at five times its value in silver. The economical state of England was now desperate ; the greatest

wrench that English social life had ever known, the dissolution of the monasteries, a change which threw a quarter of English property into new hands, had fallen into the same period as that other complication caused by the substitution of cattle farming for the cultivation of corn. While society was trying to settle down on its new basis, the king threw in the incalculable evils of a fearfully debased currency.

One would have thought that few men in England in those fearful times would have had leisure to joke at their own wretchedness. Nevertheless tradition has preserved to us several jests connected with King Henry's base money. To understand them it is necessary to remember that the copper which formed the larger part of the so-called silver coins soon showed itself, when they had received a little rubbing in passing from hand to hand. Moreover the king's head was represented full face on this base money, so that the wear first affected the most prominent part of the face, the nose, where the copper soon became visible.

'Sir John Rainsford,' says Camden, 'meeting Comptroller Brooke, who passed as having advised these later debasements to the king, threatened to break his head; for that he had made his sovereign lord King Henry, the most beautiful of princes, to have a red and coppery nose.'

Again, we find epigrams written on the shillings or testoons:¹

Testons begone to Oxenford, God be your speed,
To study in Brasen Nose College, there to proceed !

In another place :

These testons look red : how like you the same ?
'Tis a token of grace : they blush for shame.

When Henry died, in 1548, the currency had lapsed into a curious state owing to these last changes ; the gold had migrated over seas, save a very small proportion which was

¹ A synonym for the coin, borrowed from the French *teston*, the name of the large piece which resembled our shilling in size and bore the king's head as chief type.

treated as a mere commodity, and was continually changing in nominal value when expressed in terms of the silver. For, of course, no one would give a sovereign of $\frac{2}{3}$ fine for twenty shillings of $\frac{1}{3}$ fine. For, if expressed in terms of the old unadulterated coinage of the years before 1526, the former was still worth 14*s.* 2*d.*, while the latter were no more than 5*s.* 6*2d.* When Strype tells us that he had seen '21*s.* in testoons given for an old angel, to gild withal,' we see that the rate was very reasonable. Twenty-one shillings of 120 grains each, at $\frac{1}{3}$ fine equal 840 grains of pure silver. An old angel contained 80 grains of gold, and the buyer of the angel was, therefore, getting his gold coin at the ratio of 10·5 to 1, which was cheaper than he had any right to expect, unless, indeed, some of his twenty-one testoons were those of the issues of 1543 or 1545, and therefore of better silver than the current piece of 1546-50. A similar note may be made on another price of this time. The pound of raw silver was selling, we are told, at 3*l.* 12*s.* in 1548, whereas before the coinage of 1526 it had been worth only 2*l.* Now, considering that 3*l.* 12*s.* in testoons contained only 1*l.* 4*s.* of pure silver, it is obvious that the purchasing power of coined money was still very much above the intrinsic value of the good metal in it, even when we take into consideration the fact that silver bullion had been falling since 1523 to some slight but appreciable extent, owing to the influx from the American mines.

Henry died on January 28, 1547, and was succeeded by his young son, Edward VI. The ring of self-seeking courtiers who clustered round the boy-king determined from the first to conjure with the rod of their old master. But they were conscious of the unpopularity which his tampering with the coinage had produced, and tried to do furtively what Henry had been wont to do with a brazen front and unmoved effrontery. Their first device was to go on for more than a year using the old king's coin-dies to strike as much as they dared of the debased gold and silver under the cover of his name. Hence there are hardly any known coins of Edward's first two years--in both metals they are extremely rare ; on

the other hand, there is a large bulk of coins bearing the name of Henry VIII., which, from the mint marks and some changes in the portrait-figure on the obverse, can be attributed without any hesitation to the reign of his son.

The first coinage of Edward VI., whether struck with his own name or his father's, is of the same metal both in gold and silver as that of the concluding years of Henry VIII. But in 1549 joyful rumours were set abroad by the government; the coinage was to be purified and the new money was just about to appear. It came, and it *was* more pure than that which had been circulating since 1546—but it was very much lighter. The new sovereign was 22 carats fine out of 24, as against Henry's last issues at 20 carats. But it only weighed 170 grains as against 192, i.e. it contained 156 grains of pure gold as against 160. The silver testoon was not, like the sovereign, actually poorer than its predecessor, but was a half-and-half coin of silver and alloy; but as it was only two-thirds the size of the last testoon of King Henry, it contained exactly the same number of grains of pure silver, viz. 40.

The public disappointment found voice in the sermons of Bishop Latimer. 'We have now,' said he, 'a pretty little shilling, indeed a very pretty one! I have but one, I think, in my purse, and that I had almost put away yesterday for an old groat,¹ and for such, I believe, some will take them. The fineness of its silver I can not see, but thereon is printed a fine sentence: "Timor domini fons vitae." I would God that this sentence were always printed in the heart of the king in choosing his officers.'

The boon of a diminished coinage was soon supplemented by Somerset and his friends; the coin of Henry VIII. was suddenly 'cried down.' It was said that 'the late king having set current among his subjects testons of great baseness, his present Majesty perceiving that such coins were by reason of their baseness counterfeited both at home and abroad, had

¹ An old groat weighed 48 grains only, and the new shilling 80, so the good Bishop of Worcester was using some exaggeration in pretending to mistake one for the other.

caused other better coins to be made. Now, it appeared that persons were using the old coins and their counterfeits in buying up victuals and merchandise, giving they cared not what for the same, so that they might get rid of the coin. The king, therefore, being minded to call in and recoin all such base money, could not bear the expense of receiving it back at the price at which it was issued. Every old teston, therefore, was, after August 31, to be current for 9*d.* only.'

For this mean repudiation England had to thank Somerset : his baser successor, Northumberland, treated the country still more cruelly ; in 1550 he issued a further edict reducing the base testoon from 9*d.* to 6*d.* only, as preparatory to the introduction of a better coinage. What was worse, he issued coin baser by a trifle than even that of Henry VIII. There were 80,000*l.* of royal debts still outstanding ; to pay this off Northumberland had coined silver to that value, whereof only a quarter—3 ounces in the lb.—was of good metal, while 9 ounces were copper. This was the basest money England ever knew ; no great quantity, it is true, but the manner it was foisted on the royal creditors just before the great recoinage was especially disgusting.

In 1551-52 something was at last taken in hand. A large issue of shillings, sixpences, and also of silver crowns and half-crowns (the first of those high denominations ever issued in England) were set in circulation. They contained 11 ounces 1 dwt. fine out of the 12 ounces, or practically the old standard which was current before 1527. In weight they were half-way between Latimer's 'pretty little teston' and the old shilling, being made 60 to the pound, not 72 as the last base money had been, nor 45 as the old shilling of Henry VII. At the same time the sovereign was raised from the weight of 170 grains to 174½ of 22 carats fine—i.e. it contained about the same 160 grains of pure gold as had the last sovereign of Henry VIII., and was appreciably better than those of the years 1549-51.

Thus we see an honest standard of coinage once more reintroduced, and gold now standing to silver in the ratio of

1 to 1105, which very fairly coincided with the average of continental ratios of the day, and was well calculated to suit the country's needs.

There was, however, one most important step still necessary to redeem the credit of the English coinage and restore the currency to a healthy condition. It was absolutely necessary to call in the millions of base money that had been issued since 1543, and to exchange it for good money. This, however, was not done: Northumberland did not dare to face the enormous expense which the buying back of the base money, even at a great reduction on its issued value, would bring about. The new silver and gold began to issue from the mint in a fairly copious stream, but scarcely had they got into private hands when they seemed to disappear as if by magic. The fact was that they were partly hoarded by the first receivers, who were doubtful if the shifty Northumberland might not slip back into the paths of bankruptcy, and partly exported for foreign trade. For the merchants who had dealings abroad found that the new money was eagerly taken by Antwerp and Amsterdam, who had been so loth to handle the debased issues of 1543-51. Thus Gresham's law, not yet the public property of financial experts, worked its inevitable process. The bad money drove out the good. The new coinage was hoarded or exported; the old money alone was seen in the markets and haunts of men. The copious stream of fine pieces poured out in 1551-53 seemed to vanish just as it touched the trading world. Prices did not fall appreciably, for 'de non existentibus et de non apparentibus eadem est lex,' and the public, seeing only the baser sort of coins, persisted in fixing its values by them.

Meanwhile Edward died, and was succeeded by his sister Mary. That princess declared her intention of restoring the 'good old times,' in the matter of the coinage as well as in spiritual things, but her promises were not destined to be fulfilled. Her reactionary spirit changed the aspect of the coin back to a copy of the currency of Henry VII., and caused a large coinage of groats, a denomination which had

sunk out of sight somewhat since the rise of the shilling and sixpence. Similarly, she restored the old types of the noble and angel, the sovereign in the ship, and the figure of St. Michael treading down the dragon. But Mary's protestations that she was about to redeem the national credit were mere words. The all-important measure of recalling the base moneys of 1543-51 was not taken. In her second and third years famine and scarcity caused a commercial crisis ; when this passed away she involved herself in her husband's continental wars. There was never time or money forthcoming for the redemption of the base money. It was to no purpose, therefore, that all her own issues were of good metal ; like those of 1551-53, they were exported or hoarded.

It was Elizabeth who was destined to do away with the base money which had cursed England for seventeen years. Her measures were drastic but efficient. An estimate was made of the bulk of depreciated coinage still outstanding in the hands of the public. Everyone has heard of the quaint device which is said to have been adopted. Discreet persons were sent on a fixed day to all the butchers' shops of London, who, under colour of settling a wager as to the proportion of the good, bad, and indifferent money in actual circulation, were to persuade the butchers to allow them to count over and divide into categories one day's take of their shop-tills. On the rough evidence supplied by this enumeration the council are said to have founded their calculation of the proportion of base money in use. They then issued a proclamation calling in such moneys, but only allowing for each piece its real value in silver, not the arbitrary allowance of 6d. per testoon made when Northumberland 'cried down' the base money in the reign of King Edward. The bulk of the circulating medium, the coins struck between 1545 and 1549, were ordered to pass and be taken at the mint for $4\frac{3}{4}$ —a loss of $1\frac{1}{4}$ to each holder of a testoon. The worst pieces of all—the 80,000*l.* of money nine-twelfths base with which Northumberland had cheated the royal creditors, came down to $2\frac{1}{4}$, a loss of $3\frac{3}{4}$ to the last unfortunate possessor.

This, however, being done, Elizabeth set to work to call in all her father's and brother's base money, giving in exchange her own neat shillings and sixpences of the coinage of 1560-1. These were of the old standard, never seen since 1527, but in weight exactly similar to the last and best of Edward's pieces, the coinage of 1551-53. Glad to get rid of their base money at any price, the people readily gave in their currency to the exchangers whom Elizabeth sent into every market-town. In a year the business was complete. The queen received 631,950 pounds troy of base metal of all sorts and sizes and alloys, some of it being the ten-twelfths pure coins of 1543, some the half pure coins of 1545, some the one-third pure money of 1546-49, and a very small proportion of the basest issue of all—that of 1550. This mass of metal was received for 638,113*l.* 16*s.* 6*d.*, that being the value of it by the last reduction. When it was refined, 244,416 pounds troy were found to be pure silver, and 397,534 pounds alloy. To the surprise of the queen, who had expected to make a loss by the transaction, it was found that there had been given in much more of the less alloyed sort of money—the issue of 1543—than had been expected. This compensating for the baseness of later metal, the mass of refined silver was coined down into 783,000*l.*¹ Thus the queen had 150,000*l.* more than she expected. But as the costs of coinage had to be taken into consideration, the actual profit was reduced to between 15,000*l.* and 18,000*l.* It is apparently unjust to blame Elizabeth for making money out of her subjects in this point; she had honestly expected to find the quantity of the worst money more than it was, and had so miscalculated to her own advantage. She expected to lose 50,000*l.* by the transaction, but actually she made 15,000*l.*

Thus the great debasement was remedied; but its effects

¹ 244,416 lbs. at 60 shillings to the oz., would of course make only 733,248*l.* of pure silver; but the alloy at 11 dwt. per lb. accounts for the fact that 783,000*l.* was coined out of the above-named weight. Professor Thorold Rogers at this point gets hopelessly mixed between pounds troy and pounds sterling, and fails to see exactly what Elizabeth did.

were not so easily dissipated. The prices of almost every product and manufacture had doubled or trebled in the twenty years. If we take wheat, the two decennial periods, 1500-1510 and 1510-1520, show 5*s.* 5*d.* and 6*s.* 8*d.* a quarter as its average price ; but the value in the period 1540-1550 went up to 10*s.* 8*d.*, and in that of 1550-1560 to 15*s.* 3 $\frac{3}{4}$ *d.* Similarly the price of oxen went up from 22*s.* or 23*s.* to 75*s.* or 78*s.* ; that of sheep, in spite of the fact that they had been largely bred in the period, from 2*s.* 4*d.* or 2*s.* 5*d.* to 5*s.* or even 6*s.* It would be useless to point out further examples. What made this rise so important, was the fact that wages had not risen in anything like the same ratio. The unskilled labourer received about 4*d.* a day in 1520 ; in 1560 his pay had only risen to 7*d.*, or had not quite doubled, while the price of food had nearly trebled. This of course came from the fact that labour was abundant, owing to the wholesale evictions which followed the appropriation of monastic lands and the enclosing of commons for sheep-farming. Moreover the practical evil of the debased currency had fallen on the class least able to bear it. ‘The richer sort, understanding the thing beforehand, did put all good money away, and passed off the base money on to their servants and hired men, so that when the pieces were cried down it was the poor who suffered, since in their hands for the most part the base money lay.’ There is no doubt that prices were destined to rise in the sixteenth century, the influx of metal from America settled this. But if the process had worked by itself, it would have been slow and imperceptible. What Henry VIII. did was to raise prices suddenly by his depreciations, and thereby to give a shock to the whole of English society. He produced suddenly and artificially a change which might have taken place without any great loss and discomfort to the nation.

When Elizabeth’s reformation of the currency took place, the effect of the American discoveries was making itself felt very distinctly. Both gold and silver, and especially the latter, were so far more plentiful all over Europe than they

had been in the days before 1540, that no relapse of prices took place in consequence of the recoinage. No one profited, as had been hoped, from a universal cheapening of the articles of consumption, whose prices had been driven upward in the days when the debased testoons formed the sole visible currency of England. The advantage to the nation which really ensued was that foreign commerce was more easily conducted, and that internal payments grew once more fixed and honest. The whole of the inhabitants of the realm were no longer forced to spend their time in the degrading employment of trying to put off their basest pieces on each other. Commerce and trade adjusted themselves, and the only permanent sufferers were the more unskilled labourers, whose wages had not risen commensurately to the general increase in the price of articles of consumption, and landholders and others who depended on old fixed customary rents. For rents in the early years of Elizabeth had hardly risen appreciably above their rate in the early years of her father. Hence, the main result of the great debasement of 1543⁵¹ may be said to have been the handicapping of the agricultural classes of England, both great folks and small ; while the manufacturing and trading classes came out of the troublous times little injured, and therefore proportionately more important in the national strength than they had ever been before.

THE MONETARY MOVEMENTS OF 1600-1621
IN HOLLAND AND GERMANY.

By W. A. SHAW, M.A., F. R. Hist. S.

THE particular phenomena of the crisis of 1621 in England have been examined in another connection¹ by the aid afforded in the State Papers, Domestic and Foreign, at the Record Office. That the movement—one, namely, of an unprecedented change in the relative values of the precious metals towards the close of the sixteenth century, bringing with it disturbance in the monetary standards and economic and social life of the chief States of Europe—was not restricted to England is demonstrable, and might safely be presumed. In the case of those other States, however, the nature of the evidence available differs from that revealed in such welcome fulness by the English State Papers. For Holland the chief authority is the huge *Plakkaat* book, a collection which takes the place of our Statutes of the Realm *plus* (our one great desideratum yet) a book of proclamations of the King in Council. In the case of Germany the want of a central rule rendered impossible anything like a statute or an imperial proclamation of sufficient authority to bind the various constituent parts of the empire. To face the monetary evils which beset her to even a greater and more pernicious degree than they did England, Germany was reduced to the less effectual system of local mint unions between the circles or contiguous princes. The collection of these mint conventions and of the *Münz-Probationstag*—trials of the pix, which were periodically renewed with those

¹ *History of Currency*, pp. 133-145.

conventions—as well as of the Imperial rescripts, &c., is of as almost appalling an extent as that of the Dutch plakkaats. They are comprised in the nine folio volumes of Hirsch, 'Reichs-Münz-Archiv.'

Both these collections of documents are special in their nature, and apart from the details of the coins and exchange, the information they afford as to the wider or social effects of the currency disturbances is almost stereotyped in form. The reciting clause of a Dutch *plakkaat* or of a *Münz-Probations-Abschied* of, say, the three corresponding circles of Bavaria, Franconia, and Swabia complains in quite parallel terms of the evils of the inrush of depreciated foreign specie, and of the export and disappearance of the native full-weighted specie, and of the rise of such specie or its premium above the base currency actually circulating, and therewith the rise of all prices generally, the upset of trade, and the dearness of the necessities of life.¹

Prima facie it might be supposed that the position of the Netherlands was very different from that of Germany in this matter. Germany, by the extraordinary confusion of her monetary systems and the dishonourable conduct of the mint

¹ *Plakkaat boek*, I, 2668, 'De Staten Generael der Vereenichde Nederlanden, alsoo omme te vorsien op de ongeregeltheyt in 't stuck van der Munte ende Muntflach, mitsgaders d' opsteygeringe van den gelde binnen dese Vereenichde Nederlanden, gecauseert deur i d' oorloge, ende de invoeringe van diverse goude ende silvere penningen, buyten dese Vereenichte Nederlanden geslagen, in dese Landen gebracht, ende tot hoogerent prysen uyt gegeven, dan die rechte waerde der selver, mitsgaders deur de groote ongeregeltheyt van 't Muntwerck : alle 't welcke veroorsaeckt heeft het onbehoorlijck opwisselen van goede ende stercke specien van gelde, die in andere swacke ende uytheemsche, oock enige geconterfeyte ende vervalschte goude ende silvere penningen zijn geconverteert, tot groote schade ende interest van de gemeene welvaert deser Landen,' &c.

Hirsch, iii., 331, ' . . . zu erkennen gegeben, dasz eingerissene und noch immerwährende Unordnung und Verbrechen, von Tag zu Tage je schwerer und gefährlicher sich ansehen und lässt, indem auf diese Stunde der beschwerliche Fall der geringern kleinern Sorten, als *Dreykreutzer* und *Halbe Batzen*, insonderheit aber deren von unterschiedlichen Ständen gemünzten und überhäufsten Pfennige, mit der Steigerung der groben silbernen Sorten, als *Thalern* und *Gulden-Groschen*, wie auch anderer grober fremder ausländischen Sorten der 20. Batzner sich vergleichen thut, und wosfern solchen verbotenen geringen Münzen länger statt gegeben, oder,' &c. . . .

by the various petty magnates who had the minting prerogative, lay a helpless spoil to those who knew how to buy and where to sell her coins to their own private advantage. The Netherlands, on the other hand, commanded the exchanges, and every wind of those exchanges brought more and more coin and bullion to her store. That plethora of coinage of which she complained therefore resulted from her own ever-increasing store and wealth of metal money and balance of trade, and in complaining of it in their plakkaats the Netherland rulers overlooked the fact that in the long run the country was a gainer by the process. Such a view, however, is only half true. Throughout the period in question the Netherlands were perpetually gainers by the balance of trade, but equally with the rest of the monetary world they were losers by the secret trafficking in coins which perpetually sucked away the good and substituted bad. A man with a competent knowledge of assaying and with a moderate facility in figures could soon discover that a certain coin *x* which was issued at or declared by tariff to be on an equality with another certain coin *y* was not intrinsically so equivalent. It contained less weight of pure metal. If, therefore, he minted or procured to be minted a quantity of those cheaper coins and got them exchanged for the more valuable specie, he would gain by the difference of weight of the pure metal *minus* the expenses of minting. He would then melt down the good specie, put that difference to the account of profit; and import the bullion again to the mint, again to issue it in the form of the cheaper coin, again to exchange it for the better, again to pocket the profit. The only stop which could come to such a vicious circle of operations would be from the destruction of the margin of profit by means of a change of tariff, or from the utter exhaustion of the reservoir of good coin. But so extraordinarily confused and complex were the monetary systems of Europe at that date that in one direction or other there was always a possibility of driving such a trade in coins; and if a change of tariff or mint rate blocked that trade in one direction it opened it in another. Thus in the

currency history of England it frequently happened that the moment a drain of silver was checked by a change in the mint rate the process was reversed, and a drain of gold commenced in some other direction, *i.e.* to some other country.

The evil was radical. It inhered in the declaration of a false equivalence of coin, just as later from 1803 it inhered in the declaration of a false ratio. In both cases the variation of the legal from the market rate afforded that opportunity of gain to the individual which he was incessantly watching for, and the provision of free coinage furnished him with the requisite mechanism to transact his business and reap that gain.

The sixteenth and seventeenth century ruler saw only half the truth. He attributed the evil to the exchanges, and it is probable that this single currency phenomenon is entirely accountable for the formulation of the Mercantile System. The only remedy which he saw was to control the method of payment, and it is this idea which underlay the earliest form of preventive machinery which was invented to meet this specific evil. The idea of a Giro or Circle Bank is this: A person A makes a deposit of so much money in such and such particular specie. In payment of his debts he assigns it or part of it to B, who may again assign it to C, and so on. The deposit is not touched until the final liquidation of the whole circle of bargains, and then it must be paid out in exactly the same specie, the identical particular pieces, in which it was paid in. The expenses of the banker were met by a fee for the guarding of the money. He himself (the banker) made no use of the money whatever.

This form of banking originated in Italy, and that it was in its own restricted sphere efficient is vouched for by the long-continued existence of several of the better known of such banks, *e.g.* those of Venice and Génoa.¹

But it is self-evident that such a method of liquidating

¹ See E. L. Jäger, *Die ältesten Banken und der Ursprung des Wechsels*, pp. 4, 12; and 31, for a list of such banks.

bargains could not apply in international trade. While, therefore, they quite evidently adopted the idea of the Italian Giro Bank, the Netherland rulers thought they saw an additional element of danger in bills of exchange, and that they must invent some method to combat that evil. The general sense of the age seems to have wavered between the two alternatives of registering bills of exchange (which was the step proposed in England as late as the eighteenth century by both Sir Isaac Newton and his successor at the mint, John Conduitt) and of establishing an international exchange bank. Long before the first definitive establishment of such an institution—in the Bank of Amsterdam—the idea of an exchange bank had been proposed to Queen Elizabeth. That the step was not taken by her and was taken, and that successfully, in Holland before any other country, was probably due to the advanced commercial condition of the Netherlands. Before, however, the authorities of Amsterdam finally proceeded to combine the two ideas of a giro bank and of an exchange bank they tried the effect of a legislative restriction on exchanges pure and simple. In their anxiety to put a check to the operations of the exchangers the authorities attempted to put them down as a class, and even to abolish the use of bills of exchange.

The ordinance of the city of Amsterdam of July 15, 1608, speaks in these terms: ‘Whereas by ordinance of this State of June 15, 1604, on good and weighty considerations it is provided against the great disorder and heavy ruin which are found to result from the great irregularities and license which various persons, under pretext of banking, and other merchants, were practising in taking in and paying out other people’s money and culling out the heavy pieces, as also by the many bills of exchange and such devices; such people, knowing well how to make their profit from the heavy coins, returning the light pieces again into currency; and whereas nevertheless many notable merchants (giving themselves the hope that the trade of the aforesaid bankers was not so much injurious as for the benefit and furtherance of traffic and

commerce) have with great instance besought that the aforesaid ordinance should not be enforced, the direct contrary of which both time and experience have shown, in so far that now, in the interval of four years, by the activity of the aforesaid blameworthy people, who have nothing before their eyes but to enrich themselves to the ruin and starvation of the community, there have resulted such an intrusion and rise of money as have not occurred in many preceding years—yea, not in a century perhaps—from which would result greater difficulties, yea, the fundamental ruin of the whole community, if no provision be made against it; wherefore the councillors of this State, on the occasion that the States-General of the United Provinces, in renewing their plakkaat of 1606, have found good to order a general reduction in the tariff of moneys, do order—

'I. That no man shall give in payment to his creditor, or take in payment from a debtor, any bill of exchange, bond, or letter of assignation, but shall pay or receive his debts directly to or from his own creditor or debtor.

'In pursuance of this it is forbidden to entrust to a merchant money or cash, or to receive and pay out again the same to any other person, whether by letter of assignation, bill of exchange, or acknowledgment by word of mouth or otherwise, directly or indirectly, on a penalty of twenty-five gulden for each 100 gulden in the transaction, half to be levied from the banker and half from the depositor.

'Further, it is forbidden to all and each to take or give coins at a higher rate than by the present plakkaat, and it is again ordered that no agio or premium be taken or given, whether by any private person or by the authorised exchanger, and that no one dare to cull the coin for profit or in any way contravene the plakkaat.'

Within exactly a fortnight the authorities of Amsterdam found themselves driven to issue a *mitigatie* of this ordinance, and one which practically afforded a loophole of escape from all its three chief enactments. But though thus driven from their immediate position they did not lose sight of their intention

to limit the use of bills of exchange and to gain an absolute control over the action of the exchangers. It was for this object, and stubbornly indoctrinated with the same ideas, that the Government of Amsterdam determined on the erection of an exchange bank which should supersede such private activity of the exchangers and so safeguard the currency.

The ordinance establishing the Amsterdam Bank, or the Exchange Bank of Amsterdam, as it is expressly styled in the charter, was issued on January 31, 1609. 'Whereas,' says this ordinance or charter, 'in order to the prevention of all enhancement and confusion in the coinage, and to afford relief to merchants engaged in commerce, it is thought highly necessary to establish some order in the matter of the exchanges by the erection of a bank of exchange, they have, therefore, so ordained a bank of exchange to which each and every may bring all such native coins, masses, grenailles, and billon money as they please, and the said native coins and the worth of the said masses, &c., to draw out again at their pleasure, provided that the said coins paid in at any one time shall not be less than the sum of 300 gulden, not counting smaller specie, such as shillings, and of these smaller specie not more than the value of three gulden shall be paid in for every 100 gulden of tenderable coin.'

'For these deposits the State shall be guarantee.

'None shall give assignations on the bank to the value of more than the deposit on a penalty of forfeit of 3 per cent.

'Those who wish to make exchange of any specie may resort to the said bank, paying as small a commission (*toebet*) as shall be practicable.

'Further, in order that the coins brought to exchange may be more safely valued, we ordain that all moneys due by bill of exchange on or after February 14 next, being to the amount of 600 gulden or more, or which shall be drawn abroad and are to be met here, if to the like amount, shall be negotiated and met at this bank. All bills of exchange not so negotiated through and made payable at this bank shall

be held illegal, and the contravengers hereof—*i.e.* both parties to the bill transaction, shall forfeit twenty-five gulden.

'For the expenses of the bank a charge of half a stuiver per 100 gulden to be made on exchanges.'

This charter or ordinance was supplemented by a further ordinance of November 30 of the same year, 1609. The main purpose of the supplementary regulations was to render effectual the determination already announced of suppressing private exchangers and bankers. Very little experience was needed to show that it was impossible to suppress them, and that the scheme of the Exchange Bank of Amsterdam would not suffice to replace them. The expedient, therefore, proposed was to incorporate the existing bankers and exchangers within the bank itself, by establishing them as out-receivers or branch receivers (*buiten vanger*), under strict supervision. 'As we find,' says this supplementary charter, 'that the longer we go the greater becomes the confusion and disorder in mercantile settlements, so that many lack the proper media for paying their obligations fallen due, we therefore ordain that for all classes of transactions, whether involving purchase of land, houses, or ships, the bill shall be met on the day it falls due, whether the settlement be promised within or without the bank. The debtor not honouring his bill to pay 8 per cent. interest to his creditor, with ordinary right of process and recovery for both debt and interest.'

'It is further strictly forbidden for any person to take in charge the money of any merchant, or to receive and pay out money for any whomsoever, either by letter of assignation, bill of exchange, acknowledgment by word of mouth, or otherwise, directly or indirectly, on a penalty of 25 gulden for each 100 gulden concerned.'

'For the accommodation of the merchants in the deposit of their money which they may wish to bring to the bank it is decreed to establish certain outside receivers, who shall act on certain instructions as follows :—

'1. Such branch men shall pay into the bank the deposits they receive.'

'2. They shall take in all moneys, whether payable by promise at the bank or not, and within three days at longest shall pay the identical pieces either to the bank or back again to the owner and to no other person.

'3. For each 100 gulden so received and paid they shall receive a stuiver.

'4. No coins shall be taken in and reckoned at any other or higher rate than is prescribed by the ordinance of the States-General, on pain of the receivers losing their office; provided that by order of the higher commissioners of the bank they may receive such coin and at such a premium and profit as shall be prescribed by the said commissioners, paying the same into the bank, as aforesaid.

'5. They shall keep a register of all receipts and payments, and be true to their trust in everything revealing all disorders which may come to their knowledge to the high commissioners of the bank, and giving a guarantee therefor of 12,000 gulden.'¹

The establishment of the Amsterdam bank is referred to thus at length because the institution represents in concrete form the highest sense of the age on what was, considering the monetary and mint systems of Europe at the time, a really insoluble problem, viz. how to reduce the exchanges to their normal action or sphere, and to prevent such arbitrage transactions as arose merely from the trade in coins.

It is on record that the attempt failed. In the chief points which were in the mind of the legislator in establishing the bank it is demonstrable that it failed, whether in safeguarding the currency from further enhancement or in controlling the activity of the exchangers and bankers and in limiting the use of bills of exchange. In the first place the bank was intended as a currency safeguard both generally and by the special provision which was made that not more than 3 per cent. of any sum should be receivable at the bank in the smaller specie. But so far was the bank from preventing

¹ The text of the charters here translated is that contained in the appendix to Mees, *Proeve eener geschiedenis van het bankwesen in Nederland*, pp. 279 f.

a further enhancement of the coin that it became in simple fact the helpless register or means of recording such enhancement. By the plakkaat of 1606 the rijksdaalder had been tariffed at 2 fl. 7 st. In 1608 by a *tolerantie* it was allowed an interim rate of 2 fl. 8 st. By the plakkaat of 1610, a year after the establishment of the bank, this latter tariff had to be legally recognised and thereby imposed on the bank, for by its charter that bank was obliged to take the coins at the rate prescribed by the plakkaat. Five years later by the plakkaat of September 26, 1615, a further enhancement was announced and ordained, and so again in 1619, when the rijksdaalder was set at 2 fl. 10 st. And so for the next plakkaat of 1622. Throughout the whole of the first half of the seventeenth century the same complaints as before are loudly made of intolerable confusions and disorders in the coinage.¹

So again for the second object which was in the mind of the founders of the Amsterdam bank. As an exchange institution the object of the bank was to control the arbitrage and the export of and trade in coins, and for this purpose to supplant the use of bills of exchange, to keep money as money and destroy its use as merchandise, to assume the exchange function to itself or to the State, and to press out of existence private banking and exchanging. This purpose also it did not accomplish. From the date of the first erection of the branch receivers there is hardly any further reference to them. They evidently did not come into existence. The private bankers, on the other hand, maintained themselves, and in 1621 the State was forced to abandon its attempt at their suppression and to simply recognise them, though on conditions which still manifested the anxiety of the Government to control and inspect their activity as much as possible.

In turning from the Netherlands to Germany we enter a different world. With a reeling imperial system, and a commerce practically restricted to annual fairs, and with a religious struggle looming upon her which was to be the

¹ See *Groot Plakkaatboek*, I, 2745-2877.

disruption of her national and social and economic life, Germany was doubly cursed with a mint and monetary system such as has no equal in history for its appalling confusion and perniciousness. The various States had in gradual succession, from the days, or from before the days, of the Golden Bull, purchased or assumed the sovereign right of minting. Even by the aid of numismatists it would probably be impossible to form a correct estimate of the number of States or petty Powers exercising this right in the Empire in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Goldastus has preserved in his '*Catholicon Rei Monetariae*' a list of the independent minting powers (*ordines monetales*) in two only of the German circles. It is as follows :—

ORDINES MONETALES IN CIRCULO BELGICO WESTPHALICO
SEU RHENANO INFERIORI

Principes Ecclesiastici

- Episcopus Paderbornensis
- Episcopus Leodiensis
- Episcopus Ultraiectinus
- Episcopus Monasteriensis
- Episcopus et Dux Cameracensis
- Episcopus Osnabrugensis
- Episcopus Verdensis
- Episcopus et Dux Mindensis
- Abbas Stabulensis
- Abbas Corbeiae
- Abbas Werdensis
- Abbas Sancti Cornelii Monasterii apud Indenos
- Abbatissa Hereuordiensis
- Abbatissa Essendiae
- Abbatissa Thorensis

Principes Laici

- Dux Juliacensis
- Dux Cliviae
- Dux Montium seu Bergarum
- Dux Lutzelburgensis, Marchio de Baden
- Princeps Comes Holsatiae et Schaumburgi
- Princeps Comes Arnbergae

Principes Laici—continued

Ordines Geldriae
 Ordines Holandiae
 Ordines Frisiae
 Ordines Selandiae

Comites

Comes Nassoviae in Tillenburg
 Comes de Marcka, Dux Cliviensis
 Comes Zutphaniae, Dux Geldriensis
 Comes Oldenburgi et Delmenhorst
 Comes et Nobilis Dominus Lippiae
 Comes in Manderscheid et Blanckenheim
 Comes in Rauenspurg, Dux Juliacensis
 Comes in Hoia, Dux Brunsuicensis
 Comes in Moers, Princeps Auraicensis
 Comes in Teckelnburg, Comes Benthemensis
 Comes de Nova aquila seu Nuenar
 Comes Ritbergae, Comes Ostfrisianus
 Comes Frisiae Orientalis seu Ostfrisiae, qui et Embdanus

Barones

Liber Dominus Vyanae, Nobilis Dominus Bredenrodius
 Dominus in Gesmen, Comes Schaumburgensis
 Dominus in Geveren, Comes Oldenburgicus
 Baro in Batenburg, Comes Bronchorstianus
 Baro in Gronsfeld, Comes Bronchorstianus
 Baro in Reckhumi de Linden
 Baro in Anhold, Comes Bronchorstianns

Civitates

Colonia Agrippina	Aquisgranum
Tremonia seu Dortmundia	Cameracum
Noviomagnum	Daventria
Campena	Zwolla
Utrechtum	Groninga
Franeker	Mitteburgum
Bommela	Leodium
Nouesium seu Nussia	Susatum
Monasterium	Mindonunum seu Minda
Hereordia	Hoxaria
Vesalia inferior	Embrica

ORDINES MONETALES IN CIRCULO BURGUNDICO QUI SIMUL CUM
WESTPHALICIS CONUENIRE AD PROBATIONES DEBEBANT.

Magnus Dux Burgundiae, Rex Hispaniarum, seu Archidux
Austriacus

Principes Ecclesiastici

Episcopus Tornacensis

Episcopus Atrebatus

Abbas Sancti Vedasti

Principes Laici

Ducatus Brabantiae

Ducatus Limburgensis

Ducatus Lucemburgensis

Ducatus Geldriae

Comitatus Flandriae

Comitatus Atrebatum seu Artesiae

Comitatus Burgundiae

Comitatus Hannoniae¹ seu Hennegouiae

Marchionatus Sacri Romani Imperii

Dux Arschotanus, Princeps Chymaci seu Chyni

Comites

Comes de Namurco, Dux Burgundiae

Comes Bredouiae, Princeps Auraicensis

Comes Egmondi et Iselsteini

Comes in Horn

Comes Montium seu Bergensis

Barones

Baro in Herrenberg, Comes Bergensis

Baro in Hele, Comes Bergensis

Baro in Altberg, Comes Bergensis

Dominus in Geuaerden N.

Civitates

Gandauum

Machlinia

Antuerpia

Traiectum ad Mosam

Louanium

seu Mastrichia

Brugae

Tornacum¹

¹ *Catholicon Rei Monetariae; sive Leges Monarchiae generales de Rebus Nummariis A Melchiore Goldasto, Haimensfeld, 1620.* For an account of the powers exercising the mint prerogative in the mark of Brandenburg, see E. Bahrfeldt, *Die brandenburgischen Städtemünzen aus der Kipperzeit*, 1882; and for the Empire generally see Leitzmann, *Wegweiser auf dem Gebiete der deutschen Münzkunde*, 1869.

The full total for the Empire would be in proportion, and it must further be borne in mind that many of these Powers were accustomed to farm out, or even let out for hire, their mint rights to wholly irresponsible undertakers or exploiters. Such a list may afford some idea of the possibility of confusion to come when any of these Powers forgot the high nature of the minting function and consented to a debasement. As a matter of fact from one or other of these rulers such a danger of debasement was actually and constantly present, long before and long after the *Kipper- und Wipper-Zeit*. But it is the general prevalence of such debasement, beginning about 1596 and culminating in the climax of 1620–3, which has given to this period its distinctive name. The *Kipper- und Wipper-Zeit* in Germany is to be regarded as due to the administrative disunion of the country and to the changed relations of the precious metals since the discovery of the New World. All over Europe those changed relations of the precious metals marked themselves most visibly on the quarter of a century 1600–1625, and the change was only met and catastrophe averted in those States where strong central rule prevailed, together with a firm hold upon and restriction of the minting prerogative.

As a matter of first principles such a change would first act from the outside. Germany had to be flooded with depreciated specie from beyond her border, brought in by the Jew exchangers of Frankfort and Amsterdam, before her princes could become so habituated to a depraved currency as to lose all regard themselves for its honour. Then they improved on their teachers.

For several years before the close of the sixteenth century the privy trade in coins, which was a feature of European commerce generally, was driven with increasing boldness in Germany. In an imperial rescript of June 10, 1592, from Rudolf II. to the three corresponding circles of Franconia, Bavaria, and Swabia, the situation is thus depicted: ‘Wie gannz bösslich daselbig sowoll mit dem ungerechten uund vortheilhaftigen Münzen, als auch Brechung, Auffwechslung,

Ausfuerung und Staigerung der gerechten, unnd hingegen Einschleichung der bösen ausslendischen Sorten, allenthalben gleichsam ohne ainigen Scheüens ubertreten, unnd mit Staigerung aller Wahren und menschlicher Notturfft, alss auch gennzlicher Unterdruckung dess gemainen armen Mannes, zue dess aigennützigen Kauffmanns Vortheil unnd privat Gesuch,' &c.¹ Rudolf therefore recommends to their zeal the prohibition of export of large and good silver specie of the Empire, the withdrawal and melting of the bad forbidden *half-batzen*, and the reduction of the terms of silver purchase to the previous rate. To this rescript the Three Circles replied at their next convention for the trial of the pix in September 1592, recommending the withdrawal of the *half-batzen* and proposing the confiscation of the mint rights of any state or power which lent out for hire its mint rights or which minted any debased specie.²

Page after page of Hirsch's collection reproduce these features of the situation, and in practically identical language, save that the list of prohibited base specie grows gradually larger. To the *half-batzen* are added with execration the *three-kreutzer pieces*, *kreutzers*, and *groschen*, 'und andere erprobirte Heckenmünze haufenweise gemacht und auf die Marckte geschoben.'³

In the mint 'recess' concluded between Upper Austria, the Swabian circle, and the Swiss cantons in July 1593⁴ these three-kreutzer and half-batzen pieces, against which greatest complaint was made, are attributed to a Bohemian origin. Their depreciated nature is distinctly stated,⁵ and their de-

¹ Hirsch, *Reichs-Münz-Archiv*, iii. 8.

² *Ibid.* p. 11.

³ *Ibid.* p. 14.

⁴ *Ibid.* p. 21.

⁵ *Ibid.* p. 29. 'In den negstverlossen 20 und mehr Jharen etliche Fürsten und Ständt drei Kreutzerer und halb Batzen, mehr umb des Gewins dan Ehren willen, etliche auch ihre Landt Müntz in zimblich grosser Anzahl gemünzet, die doch keine eigene Berckwerck haben; so ist aber wissentlich das sie vonn anndern Berckwerck keine Silberkeuff haben unnd dasselb zu der Hand bringen können, drumb müssen sie allein gebrochen guett Reichsgeldt unnd granalia vermüntzen. . . .

'Aber zum Sechsten ist es nech viel schedlicher, das etlich vornehme Ständt die selb über den wohlbedachten Müntzordnungen halten sollen, viel zu geringe

moralising effect on the national consciousness. All in vain. The Reichstag at Regensburg again expressly forbade the circulation of the half-batzen, but the trial of the pix in 1595 only revealed the fact of the total disregard of the prohibition. Three-kreutzer, half-batzen, and kreutzer pieces were proved to have been minted wanting from 15 to 25 per cent. of their proper value, with the effect, as was alleged, of robbing the poor people of one-third of their labour.¹ In 1596 the depreciation had proceeded to as much as 43 per cent.² Again, on August 8, 1596, the circulation of the half-batzen and base three-kreutzer and kreutzer pieces was forbidden in an imperial *Münz-Mandat*. This mandate, which was repeated in a proclamation at Strasburg on January 9, 1597, was as futile as its predecessors. The import of depreciated specie from the Netherlands continued, and the export of good specie—this time by way of Switzerland and Italy.³ The imperial commissioners

Halb Batzen, unnd zum Thail Drei Kreutzerer in der Meng müntzen unnd ob sie wohl durch der Probation Tag Abschied vielfeltig gewarnet, auch vor der Kayserl. Mayt verklagt worden, so haben sie es doch umb eines geringen Gewins willen nicht unterlassen, sie sein auch biszher ungestraft blieben. . . .

'Zum Neunten wan dan mitt so geringem Geldt unnd falscher Müntz gehanticret wird, so hat ein jeder leichtlich zu betrachten das der Silberkauff und das gutt grob wohl bekannt Geldt Guldene und silberne Müntzen uf das Höchst gestaigert.' . . .¹ *Ibid.* pp. 50, 53, 72.

² *Ibid.* p. 66. 'Abschied des zu Augsburg gehaltenen Münzprobations Tags der correspondirenden Creyse Francken, Bayern und Schwaben 14 May 1596': 'Als auch der Waradeinen Probier Zettel fernes zu erkennen geben dass Erz Herzog Ferdinand und Herzog von Mantua, Thaler; Cardinal und Bischoff zu Costniz Pfalzgraf Johann, Georg Gustav Graven von Waldegg Solms, Graven von Appten von Murpach, 3 Kreutzer; Bischoven zu Worms, Graven von Hanau, Reingraven $\frac{1}{2}$ Batzen; Pfalzgrävische pfennig, Cöllnische Heller uff das Hundert von 4 biss 15, 16, 17, 18, 19, 28, und 43 Fl zu hoch gemüntzt.' . . .

³ *Ibid.* p. 69, 'Des Westphälischen Crayses Münz-Probation-Abschied de dato Cölln den 9 Mai 1596. . . .' 'Es ist ferner eine Zeithero vermercket in wie grosser Anzahl auswendige Brabantische Drittehalb Stübers Pfennige in disem Crays eingeführet, über ihren Werth in gemeiner Cöllnischer Währung ausgegeben; und die Churfürstliche Cöllnische, Luttichische und Julichische 4 Albus Pfennige darunter gemenget und alle zugleich um 4 Albus ausgebracht und die auswendige gar zu häufig herein geschleifset werden.' . . .

Ibid. p. 99, 'Münz-Abschied der 4 Churfürsten am Rhein de dato Bonn den 5 Mai 1597. . . .' 'Wie sonderlich in dem westphälischen Kraiss, die Erfahrung beschien als derselbig bey zwey oder 3 Jahren ein ganz geringe Reduction umb

assembled at Frankfort in September 1597, after passing a tariff for the good specie, speak thus of the circulation of the bad :—

‘ Und nach dem vielen Jahren hero von Kauff und Handelsleuten, wie auch von dem gemeinen Bürger, unnd Bawersmann grosse Clag, der überheuffsten bösen, geringen Reinländischen Pfenning von Christen und Juden in grossen Bezahlungen, auch gemeinen Auszgaben, hin und wider verschoben und auszgeben, alles wider verordnung und den Buchstaben viel angezogenen Müntz Edicts, darinnen heilsam disponirt und versehen, dasz keiner in Bezahlung mehr, dann 25 Gülden, auch in gröbern Sorten, als halbe Patzen zunemmen, schuldig und verbunden, so hat doch die erfahrung bei vielen Jaren hero zu erkennen geben, dass grosse Posten an Reinischen Pfenningen zu 1000 gülden, und viel höhern summen den Leuten gleichsam auffgetrungen und eingenötigt.

‘ So dann berürte Pfenning im Reich ungültig, und wosfern der Kauff und Handels, auch gemein Mann, derselben dieser ort zu Franckfort und anderstro am Reinstrom loss unnd ledig werden wil, musz er Jüden und Christen, alles wider Bevordnung und Inhalt vieler heilsamer Reichs Constitutionen und Abschieden, zwölft und dreyzehn Gülden, gegen Einwechselung der bösen geringen halben Patzen, per cento zum Auffwechsel geben, welches gleichsam für ein Rechts und Landsgebrauch erkannt und gehalten wird. Damit aber hierunter der Inn- und Auszländischen Handelsleut, wie auch

etliche wenige Albus vorgenommen darzu gleich in dem Niderburgundischen Cra'ss der Reichsthaler uff zween, dergleichen der Gold-Gulden und Königsthaler uff dritthalben schlechte Thaler, also auch andere Münzen weiter uffgesetzt worden,’ &c.

Ibid. p. 89, ‘ Bedenken und Gutachten eines kaisrl. Raths auf was Weg die Execution eingerissener Unordnung des Müntzwesens in d.n Craissen anzurichten und zu bestellen sein möchte.

‘ . . . Unnd nachdem die meiste gute Reichsmünz auch biancken und rohe Goldt unnd Silber nach Italien und Schweiz gefürth, das Bayern unnd Tyrol gegen Italien, Salzburg gegen Kerndten, der Schwebisch Creyss nacher Schweiz die verordnung thun wollten,’ &c.

dess gemeinen Manns, mit dergleichen Unordnung und Miszbräuch hinfürters verschonet.'¹

A year later Dantzig complained of the circulation of base Hungarian gulden,² and the Rhenish provinces complained that along the Rhine stream the gulden and reichsthaler had been exported, and nothing was left to take their place but the three-kreutzer and half-batzen pieces.³ In another direction there was an export of good specie to Poland, followed by the inrush of depreciated 'Pohlnische Duttichin' from there, the exchange being attended with a loss of nearly 20 per cent.⁴

To continue such a narrative in anything like detail would be practically to instance a succession of papers which fill two folio vols. of Hirsch, and is impossible. In 1604 the average depreciation in the three-kreutzer and half-batzen pieces was stated at from 18 to 26 per cent.⁵ In 1606 'überhaufften Pfenninge' generally are added to the list of species complained against.⁶ In the following year the mint trial of the three circles held at Nürnberg revealed, amongst other items, the following instances of debasement:—'The State of Frankfort has in 1606 minted six-kreutzer pieces wanting nearly 37 per cent. of the Imperial standard; the Duke of Tesch three-kreutzer pieces lacking nearly 27 per cent., and the Count Palatine of the Rhine the same pieces lacking

¹ Hirsch, *Reichs-Münz-Archiv*, iii. p. 104.

² *Ibid.* p. 114. ³ *Ibid.* p. 126.

⁴ *Ibid.* p. 145, 'Auszug aus dem Münz-Probations-Abschied des obersächsischen Creyses d d Leipzig 12 Oct. 1599 . . .' 'Insonderheit aber dass die Reichsthaler und andere gute grobe Reichsmünz hin und wieder haufig eingewechselt, in grossen summen in Schlesien und Oestrich verschicket, von dannen fürtir in das Königreich Pohlen geführet und daselbst auff unterschiedlichen Münz Stetten gebrochen und pohlnischen Duttichin daraus gemünzet werden soll, welches in gehaltener Prob dermassen besfundsen, dass an etlichen uff Hundert Gulden der Verlust 17 Fl. 9 Kr. und an etlichen uff Hundert Thaler 19 Fl. 22 Kr. nach gehaltener Communication einhellig beschlossen,' &c. . . .

For a practical confirmation of this statement from the point of view of the numismatist see Colonna-Walewski, *Beiträge zur Geschichte der polnischen Münzstätten*, pp. 65 and 71.

For a just estimate of the main lines of the ebb and flow of the coinage see a remarkable paper in Hirsch, vol. iii. p. 150-2.

⁵ Hirsch, vol. iii. p. 237.

⁶ *Ibid.* pp. 264, 268.

nearly 30 per cent., the Count of Solmes the same lacking 31 per cent. and 34 per cent. and more.¹ Two years later this black list of debasers had grown to more than twenty, and included the Counts Palatine, the Duke of Tesch, the Duke of Liegnitz, the Count of Solmes, the Count of Stolberg, Count Philip Louis of Hanau, the Counts of Waldeck, the Dukes of Holstein, Count Simon of Lippe, and so on.¹

From this point onwards for some years the information grows more meagre. The series of imperial letters almost entirely cease and the mint conventions and mint trials dwindle to an insignificant number. In their absence it will probably have to be left to the numismatist to give us an account of the coinages of the most disturbed years of the *Kipper- und Wipper-Zeit*. It would appear that throughout the years 1610-1618 the process of debasing was pursued unchecked ; that, indeed, all idea of putting a stop to the evil was relinquished, and that without any perceptible acceleration things went steadily worse. In 1615 the Franconian circle attempted to exert itself against the evil and to decree a reduction of the premium on good specie.² The hopeless attitude of the Powers towards the question can be gathered from the language of the three upper circles at their meeting at Nürnberg in May 1618.³ All that could be then expected, in their opinion, was to prevent any extravagant outbreak of debasement. In the following year there is record of only one mint convention, that of the Upper Saxon Circle, in May 1619.

The signal for the breaking loose of this hitherto so hardly restrained movement of debasement was given by the beginning of the Thirty Years' War. As to what followed there is an insufficiency of record, save in the tables of tariff of the better coins and in the scattered satirical popular songs of the time.

These tables of tariff represent simply the agio or premium of good coin over bad, corresponding practically to a modern table of the course of the premium on gold in Argentina, or

¹ *Ibid.* p. 397.

² *Ibid.* vol. iv. pp. 38, 66, 90.

³ *Ibid.* vol. iv. p. 102.

of the course of the depreciation of paper during our own period of bank restriction.

In the mark of Brandenburg the movement was as follows:¹

—	1620		1621	1622
	Fl.	Kr.		
Ducat	3	12	6	16
Gold Gulden	2	20	5	12
Philipps-Thaler	2	15	5	12
Reichs-Thaler	2	4	4	10
Gulden Thaler	1	50	3½	9

In Hamburg the similar course of the good specie was as follows (the thaler alone):—

1614 December . . .	s. d.	1618 September . . .	s. d.
1615 August . . .	38 9	,, November . . .	44 0
1616 January . . .	40 0	1619 September . . .	46 6
,, August . . .	41 0	,, October . . .	48 0
1617 April . . .	40 6	1620 August . . .	52 0
,, August . . .	41 0	1621 February . . .	53 0
,, September . . .	41 6	,, March . . .	54 6
,, November . . .	42 0	,, May . . .	54 0
1618 July . . .	42 6	1622 May . . .	48 0 ²

For the Empire at large the tables of coins are given by Hirsch (v. 494). The table of the reichsthaler has been given in the 'History of Currency,' p. 103; that of the gulden thaler and gold gulden is as follows (p. 209):—

It is unfortunate that the wider social and mercantile effects of a movement which can be thus tabularly represented have been rendered obscure by the intenser havoc of the Thirty Years' War.³ In the domain of commerce the foundation of the Hamburg Bank in 1619, followed by that of Nürnberg in 1621, is directly attributable to the evil of the *Kipper- und Wipper-Zeit*.² But such is a meagre statement when compared with the wide-spread ruin

¹ Fidicin, *Geschichte der Stadt Berlin*, p. 494. See also Köhne, *Münzwesen der Stadt Berlin*, ii. 14; also *Berliner Blätter für Münz-, Siegel- und Wappenkunde*, v. 180.

² Soetbeer, *Denkschrift über Hamburgs Münzverhältnisse*, p. 7.

³ For one testimony of the agitation caused by this Kipper-Zeit in Magdeburg in 1622, see Sybel's *Hist. Zeitschr.* 1866, iv. p. 250.

		Gulden Thaler	Gold Gulden
		Fl. Kr.	Fl. Kr.
1582	—	I 0	I 15
1606	—	I 4	I 30
1607	—	I 8	I 30
1608	—	I 8	I 30
1609	Junii 15	I 14	I 40
"	Jul. 7. Dec. 19	—	—
1610	Jul. 10. Oct. 23	I 14	I 45
"	Novemb. 7	I 15	I 40
1611	—	I 14	I 45
1612	Jul. 19. Nov. 8	I 15	I 45
1613	Februario	I 16	I 45
"	Septembri	I 16	I 45
1614	Augusto	I 16	I 45
1615	Martio, 21	I 16	I 45
"	Nov. 1	I 24	—
"	" 17	I 30	I 52
1616	Jul. Oct. 2½	I 20	I 52
1617	Maio, 22	I 20	I 52
"	Oct. 2	—	—
1618	Maio, 15	I 22	2 0
1619	Octob. 20	I 36	2 10
"	Decemb. 23	I 45	2 20
1620	Martio, 20	I 50	2 20
"	Junio, 11	I 56	2 20
"	Nov. 9	2 0	2 30
"	Nov. 12	—	—
1621	Januario	2 0	2 30
"	Februario	2 6	2 36
"	Martio	2 10	2 40
"	April.	2 15	2 45
"	Maio, 25	2 24	3 0
"	Maio, 31	2 52	3 40
"	Junio.	2 36	3 30
"	Jul. 20	2 52	3 40
"	Julio, 29	2 52	3 40
"	Augusto	3 30	5 15
"	Augusto, 10	2 52	3 40
"	Septembri	4 0	6 12
"	Octobri	4 24	7 0
"	Novembri	4 45	7 30
"	Decembri	5 30	8 0
"	Dec. 20	2 52	3 40
1622	Jan. 18	6 30	10 0
"	Jan. 27	3 52	4 50
"	Februario	8 30	12 0
"	Martio	8 30	11 0
"	Mart. 12	5 18	6 38
"	Junio, 16	2 52	3 40
1623	April.	I 20	I 42

which so extraordinary a movement must inevitably have brought in its train. For the more general effects on the

popular life of the time there are many striking fugitive sidelights, shed from the popular satirical literature which grew out of the movement. It would seem, indeed, as if the nickname of *Kipper- und Wipper-Zeit* has descended to us from that popular ribald poetry, more efficient in its enduring satire than the drier statements of the historian or economist. The titles of one or two of these here appended, together with an extract from the first of them, will sufficiently illustrate their nature and the popular estimate, satirical but pathetic, of a movement which was doing its own disastrous share in the calamity of the Thirty Years' War and in the disruption of German national life.

APPENDIX

KIPPER UND WIPPER.¹

IN unserm Dorff nennt man sie Kipper,
Mein Nachbar Hans spricht, es sei Wipper,
Die das lieb alte Geld auszspürn
Und darnach auff die Münzen führn,
Lassen aufs guten silbern Sachn
Mehr als drey virtel Kupffer machn,
Darmit sie gwinnen grosses Gelt,
Nur was ihn selbsten wolgefellt.

¹ Three of these songs have been reprinted at Frankfort in 1885 under the general title *Drei Zornlieder aus dem Jahr 1621 über die Münzverschlechterung*. The extract above is from the first of these. The separate titles of the three are :—

1. *Wachtel-gesang| Das ist| Warhaftiger, gründ|licher unnd eigentlicher Bericht, von| dem unaussprechlichen grossen Schaden und ver|derb, welcher unserm lieben Vatterland Teutscher nation| auch all desselben Hohen und Nidern, Geist-Welt und Burgerlichen| Ständen, sonderlich der lieben Armut, jetziger zeit durch das schändtli|che, heillose, teufflische Gesindlein, der guten Münz Ausspäher| Auff-wechsler und Geldverfälscher verursacht| und zugefügt|, Welche dess Teuffels als eines Mei|sters alles Betrugs, aussgebrüte letzte Frucht, inn| dem Wachtelschlag oder Gesang, hierinn artig, deut|lich und in anmutigen Reymen vorgebil|det werd|.* Dann auch ein newes lustiges Gespräch zwischen| allerhand Münzsorten, von dem

Reichs Taler suchen sie mit Macht,
Haben sie auch schon weist weg gebracht,
Dass man bald keinen jetzt mehr sieht.

Nun sind die Spürhund abgericht
Das alte Geld ganz weg zu führen
Dass man auch bald Keins mehr that spüren,
Geben viel Auffgab auff das best.
Wann man aber mir ligen lest

*jetzigen unträglichen Gelt auffsteigten und elenden Zustand] in Münzwesen].
Gedruckt im Jahr] darinnen Gold und Silber rein] in Kupffer is verkehrt, o Pein!].*

2. *Colloquium novum Monetarum] das ist] Ein schön news Gespräch] von dem
jetzigen unerträglichen Geltauff]steigen und elenden Zustand des Münzwesens,
welches die] gesampte Reichs- kleine und grobe, gülden und silbern, Münzsorten]
sampt etlichen metallen unter cinander] halten], Sampt einen newere schönen Lied,
allen fal|schen und leicht Münztern, Küpfern, und ihren saubern] Kottgesellen, den
Juden und Judengenossen, zu ehren] gestellet] durch einen ihren guten freund,
genandt] vel quasi].*

Katten und Mäuss, Flöh und auch Leuss,
falsche Münzter und böses Gelt
führt der Teuffel in alle Welt.
Sol man ihr nur queit werden
das beste Mittel war auf Erden,
dass man sie sampt ihrem Stempel
andern zum Schew und Exempel,
mit Fewr verbrenn oder auffhenck :
Damit man ihr nimmer gedenck.

Amen, es werde wahr.

Gedruckt im Jahre 1621.

3. Ein newes Lied, allen leicht|münstern und Küpfern.

Zu Sondern], ihren gemacht und dediciret], anno 1621.

The title of one other of these songs is preserved in Roscher's *Geschichte der National-Oekonomik in Deutschland*, p. 173 :

'Der Wartsken-Mann von Kiffern und Wiffern,' &c.

The following are preserved at the British Museum :—

1. *Ein schön new Lied zur Vekerung der Kip|per leichtfertigen Münztern so
wider ihren Be|ruff auss Gottes Vor Ordnung geschritten und sich von Ehr|licher
Handtierung was sie gelernt als Goldschmied, Schneider|, Kramer und wie sie
einen Namen haben mögen|, Welche sich auffs Kippen, Wippen und aller] Unge-
rechtigkeit befleissen zu Trewhertziger Warnung und] sondern Ehrn gestelt und zu
ewigwerenden Gedächtniss. Verfer|tiget und dedicirt, durch| Urban Grosskipper
von Wipper|.*

Gedruckt im Jahr da die Kipper bey Nacht am meisten werden reiten.

2. *Defension Schrift und ehren Tittel der Kipper und Wipper. . . . Durch
einen ihrer Sonderen Guten Freund und Gäuner in ein Lied gebracht.*

Das Geld, so sie dann zahlen auss,
 So wird bald lauter Kupffer draus,
 Ist also schlechter Münz in Hand,
 Dass es zu sagen ist gar Schand.
 Umb Groschen muss man hier umblauffn,
 Wenn man will Bier und Brod einkauffn,
 Darauf geschiehts, weil Ich vernomn,
 Mit solchen es dahin ist komn,
 Dass auf diss, so man vor nicht wolt,
 Man zwäyzig pro Cent. geben solt,
 Darmit sie Groschen mögn erlangn,
 Hievor das alte Geld empfangn.

Dreyr und Pfenning sind auch verschwunden
 Dass keiner bald mehr wird gefunden,
 Darvon die armen Leut mot habn
 Bekommen viel christliche Gabn,
 Welches sie müssen jetzt entraten.

Solche machen als der Teuffels Bratn,
 Die ziehen rumb im gantzen Land,
 Kipper und Wipper ohne Schand.

Folk in this town maintain it's Kipper,
 But neighbour Hans he says it's Wipper,
 Who cull the few good coins we've got
 And take them to the melting pot.
 Between them they contrive to make
 Of silver coins, for profit's sake,
 Coins three parts copper, so to seize,
 Just so much profit as they please.
 They hunt for Thalers might and main,
 And track them so that none remain
 To view, though every search be made.
 They train their bloodhounds to the trade ;
 And for the better specie come
 With offer of a premium.
 Whoever puts good silver out
 Gets copper back—or goes without.
 Our monies are so bad in sooth
 That we are shamed to tell the truth.

If we want beer or bread, we must
Hunt Groschens up—or go on trust ;
To get such Groschens we are bound
To lose four shillings in the pound.
Three-kreuzer pieces are all gone
And Pfennigs too there's left not one
For widow's doles ; such devil's litter
Are these vile wretches Kip and Wipper.

'WALTER OF HENLEY'¹

BY THE REV. PROF. W. CUNNINGHAM, D.D., LL.D.

FOR the last three years I have been hoping to take a convenient opportunity to put on record some corrections and additions which I am able to make to my introduction to Miss Lamond's edition of 'Walter of Henley.' The occasion has come in the saddest of all fashions, since I cannot delay longer the expression of my personal obligations to a French scholar who has recently died. The kindness I received from André Réville adds poignancy to my own regret, although all English students must bitterly deplore the loss which historical research has sustained in the death of a man of such brilliant natural gifts, who had profited so well by the great opportunities of training which Paris now affords. He was especially interested in English history, and the first-fruits of his labours, in his paper on the 'Abjuratio Regni' ('Revue Historique,' L. 1-42), serve to show how much we might have hoped to learn from him, had his life been prolonged.

In the summer of 1891, André Réville spent a few weeks in Cambridge. Those who had the opportunity of making his acquaintance were attracted by the charm of his manner; his conversation testified to the thoroughness of his scholarship, and to his genuine kindness and sympathy for others. He was busy in working up his degree thesis on 'The Peasants' Revolt,' with a view to publication, and he was chiefly en-

¹ Read before the Royal Historical Society, November 1894.

gaged in searching for fourteenth-century sermons, like those of Richard of Armagh, which might throw light on the inner meaning of that movement. One could not but be fired by his enthusiasm, and form the hope that he would be able to add greatly to our knowledge of this crisis in our history. But he also called my attention to two MSS. in Cambridge libraries which he had come across in the course of his own researches. One is in the library of Corpus Christi College ; I had expected to find it there, but had not been able to obtain it ; the other is in the University Library, and I had overlooked it when I was gathering materials for the edition of 'Walter of Henley' which was published by this Society. The readers of that book will find that the additional information I now give involves some corrections on pp. xxiii, xxxiii, xxxv, xl of that volume.

i. The book in the Corpus Library (marked CCCI.) formerly belonged to Archbishop Parker. William Lambarde¹ had the use of one of Parker's MSS., and made some extracts from it in a note-book which is now in the British Museum (Add. 20,709). I am quite inclined to believe that this is the copy of which Lambarde speaks, though it is true that his extracts do not tally so closely with the language of the Parker MS. as to give us conclusive internal evidence of the connection. Miss Lamond, who had searched for this book at Lambeth and elsewhere, was much interested in knowing of the identification, though in the few remaining days of her life she was never able to examine the Parker MS., and to form an opinion whether it is the missing book or another. Lambarde had referred to the work as entitled 'Du Gaignage des Terres,' but it would be more correct to say that the treatise has no title. A series of Latin headlines run through the whole volume, and the words 'de Gaynagio,' at the top of the page on which the treatise begins, are rather a head-

¹ The transcript (p. xxxv) which belonged to Lambarde, and is now in the Bodleian (Raw. MSS. B, 471), is in a hand closely resembling that of the clerk who transcribed Hales's *Discourse of the Common Weal* for Lambarde. I now incline to think that the interlinear translation was written by Lambarde himself.

line than a title. The MS. dates from the early part of the fourteenth century—about the time of Edward II. It contains a ‘Chronicle of S. Augustine’s, Canterbury,’ as well as the ‘Customs of Kent,’ and other matter of interest to the monks of the ancient house where it was written. It is in beautiful condition.

This ‘*De Gaynagio*’ is a transcript of Walter of Henley’s ‘*Husbandry*,’ together with the anonymous ‘*Husbandry*,’ but, like so many other early copies of that unfortunate author, it has been much maltreated. There are some considerable omissions; the chapter on the area which can be ploughed by a team of oxen is omitted (p. 8 l. 7 to p. 10 l. 3), as well as that on the management of the plough teams (p. 22 l. 18 to p. 24 l. 19), also some lines on manuring (p. 18 l. 3 from bottom to p. 20 l. 6), as well as the concluding sections on poultry and on selling in season (p. 32). But, on the other hand, there are some insertions; the passage on the diseases of sheep, which has been preserved in the Merton College MS. and in the Heralds’ College copy, occurs here also, though it is not inserted at exactly the same point as in these MSS. (It comes after p. 32 l. 5., and not after p. 30 l. 6.) This copy is also alone among the English MSS. in adding a portion of the chapter out of the anonymous ‘*Husbandry*’ on the profits of the dairy (p. 76 to 78 l. 11) to the chapter on the same subject in ‘Walter of Henley’ (p. 26). In this respect, though not in others, it is similar to the MS. in the Bibliothèque Nationale at Paris, in which the anonymous ‘*Husbandry*’ and ‘Walter of Henley’ are intercombined. But in the Paris MS. this intercalation of chapters takes place regularly throughout the treatise; while this is the only instance in which it occurs in the Parker MS., and even here the combination is effected in a different fashion.

Like so many of the other copies of ‘Walter of Henley’ it comes from Canterbury; but, curiously enough, it has no close affinity with the family of MSS. which I had described as the Canterbury group. It omits the second English proverb, and there are also minor differences of the divisions and

titles of the chapters, which distinguish it from the MSS. of that family, and show that it is most closely allied to what I have called the Reading group. At the same time, a re-examination of a portion of the evidence has rendered me dissatisfied with the tentative grouping of MSS. which I formerly suggested; the affinities between the Luffield, Canterbury, and Liber Horn groups are not so close as I had thought; while I am doubtful whether there is sufficient reason for separating the Liber Horn group from the Reading group. Certainly the relation between the Heralds' College MS. and the Merton MS. is exceedingly close, and the Parker MS., despite several minor differences, is very closely related to these two copies. The scribe of the Parker MS. had all the same materials before him as the Merton copyist; both include the anonymous 'Husbandry,' which the Heralds' College MS. does not contain, and the addition on sheep-farming as well. The Digby Latin translation is also nearly allied to these three French MSS. In the case of the copies which contain these insertions, it is natural to suppose that the transcriber had reason for paying special attention to sheep-farming; but this interest is more striking in the case of the Parker MS., since it not only inserts the matter about sheep, but omits important sections on arable farming.

2. The identification of the missing copy of 'Walter of Henley' is one kindness for which I have been indebted to M. Réville, but he also brought to my knowledge two additional MSS. of the anonymous 'Husbandry'; one is in the Parker MS., already described; one chapter is inserted in the corresponding subject matter in Walter of Henley's treatise, while the rest is subjoined to it without any title or new paragraph. In the S. Alban's MS. in the University Library (EE, iv. 20, f. 162), to which M. Réville called my attention, it occupies a more honoured position, as it stands by itself. The text is very similar to that in the printed edition; the chief difference lies in the fact that the title and headings are in Latin. It also contains one or two notes which are worth reproducing. Some quaint French verses are

written across the top of the first page,¹ and the appended Latin chapter is added at the close. It is of special interest, as it seems to mark a transition from a natural to a money economy. The auditor is advised to check receipts and expenditure in kind, by reckoning them up in money as well.

Fragments of this kind, occurring as they do in *Fleta*, the Paris MS. and elsewhere, serve to raise the question whether they are isolated scraps of advice, or, as seems more probable, are fragments of another treatise or treatises which have been lost. In any case, each additional MS. which is discovered seems to show how much literary activity was directed in this century in England to the subject of estate management ; the very readiness of the copyists to re-arrange the matter shows that they were prized as practical text books, and accounts for some of the vagaries in the different examples. It is indeed curious if, as I am informed is the case, there is no corresponding literature in other European countries at the same date. England, which has since excelled all other lands in industry and commerce, was undoubtedly far behind other countries in these departments in the thirteenth century : it is curious if she was ahead in the care which was bestowed on the management of land. At any rate, the silence is strange ; it is almost as curious as the long gap which exists up to the sixteenth century before any new author arose to deal with the subject in England.

And here I must make my last correction (p. xxi) on a point to which my attention was called by Mr. Ernest Clarke, of the Royal Agricultural Society. Sir Anthony Fitzherbert—if, indeed, it is Sir Anthony, and not his brother John—in his ‘Boke of Husbandry’ deals with the same subject matter as Walter of Henley, but a more careful examination of the two works makes me doubtful whether the later author was

¹ Si tu vuilliez entendre
Et de virgil apprendre
De terre la gaynnerie
Ta terre deuez extender
Pur sauver que puist rendre
De meyntener ta vie.

really acquainted with his predecessor. At any rate, there was no such close dependence of one on the other as to detract from the originality of Fitzherbert's own treatise, embodying, as it purports to do, his own experience.

Qualiter auditor compoti onerabit prepositum siue Balliuum, &c.

Auditor, qui voluerit scire comodum vnius carucate terre aut magis vel minus, post compotum auditum et omnia allocata que allocanda fuerunt et omnia subtracta que subtrahenda fuerunt, Tunc debet colligere totum frumentum de exitu in vnam summam, si fuerint c. quarteria maius aut minus, et inde subtrahere semen et liberaciones famulorum, et totum residuum ponere quasi venditum, sicut communis vendicio fuerit eodem anno et inde facere vnam summam argenti. Postea eodem modo faciet de silagine de mixtilione de orgeo de drageto de fabis de pisis de vescis, set de auenis hoc modo faciet; primo debet colligere totum exitum auene in vnam summam, et de illa summa subtrahere semen legumen famulorum prebendarum equorum carucarum affrorum boum et equorum seneschalli curias tenentis et equorum auditoris compotum audientis, et totum residuum ponere vendicioni sicut predictum est. Et de tota vendicione predicta omnium bladorum facere vnam summam, si fuerint c. ii. magis aut minus, tunc inde sumere debet reprisas, videlicet custus carucarum carect' ferruram equorum carectariorum affrorum boum, minutus expens' scil. empaciones salis pro legumine famulorum vangarum tribularum furcarum fimi seneuctorii restrorum cribrorum capisteriorum taratanari corbelli corbunculi vanni ventorii flagellorum falcium falcicularum modii astorii tripodis olle ennee pro legumine famulorum Marr' serr' securis sarpe ligonis et omnia alia que tangunt cultum terre. Postea custus domorum, videlicet grangeorum granarii stabuli et bouerrie postea trituracionem et ventilacionem omnium bladorum. Postea empaciones bladorum pro semine, set tantum quam magis dederis pro blado pro semine empto quam reciperis pro blado eadem causá vendita. Et sic de

stauro vendito. Postea sarculacionem bladorum. Postea cultus autumpni. Postea stipendia famulorum, videlicet ballui vel prepositi messorum caretarum et bouarii. Postea expensas sen' tenentis Curias; auditorum compotum audientis. Postea pro quolibet equo caretario xij. d. pro herbagio suo in estate et v. s' pro feno suo in yeme. Postea pro quolibet affro pro herbagio suo in estate xij. d. et pro feno suo pesacio et palea in yeme iij. s'. Et pro quolibet bove de caruca pro herbagio suo in estate xij. d. et pro foragio suo in yeme ij. s. vj. d'. Tunc debet auditor colligere omnes istas reprisas in vnam summam argenti, si fuerint xl. si maius aut minus. Et postea debet subtrahere istam summam reprise de magna vendicione bladorum. Et quod remanserit ultra reprisam deberet esse comodum, set tunc debet auditor respicere per extentam quot acras habet dominus in dominico, et quomodo singula acra extenditur, si per xij. d. vel vj. d. aut maius aut minus; et tunc debet colligere totam extentam in vnam summam, si fuerint xxx. si aut maius aut minus; et tunc si summa comodi predicti fuerit tantum, vel maius quam summa extente, bonum est. Et si fuerit minus auditor potest per regulam compoti se sumere ad extentam et relinquere compotum.

JOURNEY THROUGH ENGLAND AND SCOTLAND MADE BY LUPOLD VON WEDEL IN THE YEARS 1584 AND 1585.¹

TRANSLATED FROM THE ORIGINAL MANUSCRIPT BY DR. GOTTFRIED VON BÜLOW, SUPERINTENDENT OF THE ROYAL ARCHIVES IN STETTIN. *Szczecin*

LUPOLD VON WEDEL, author of the account of a journey through England and Scotland, 1584–1585, belonged to a noble German family, who still possess large estates in the North of Germany and in Scandinavia. He was born on the 25th of January in the year 1544, at Kremzow in Pomerania. Being a younger son, it was the intention of his family to prepare him for a learned career, and consequently after his father's death he entered the Latin School at Stargard, Pomerania. The lad, however (for he was only about eight years old), showed no intention of spending a quiet, studious life either at home or at school, his wish being to see foreign countries ; and it is to this passionate desire that we owe the production of this very interesting journal of travels, military expeditions, &c., which he gives us in his own words.

Soon after his mother's death (which occurred about the year 1573), Lupold von Wedel left his home and native land, and was for the next twenty years moving about in most of the countries of Europe.

In 1578–1579 he visited Egypt and the Holy Land—from 1580–1581 he visited Spain and Portugal, also from 1583–1584 he was engaged in the war of Cologne, from 1584–1585 he visited England and parts of Scotland. In 1575 he had

¹ The translator did not think it advisable to correct the numerous historical and literary errors of the manuscript, preferring that the translation should be as similar to the text as possible. It should be remarked, however, that the author was more of a soldier than a scholar.

entered the French Protestant army and fought against the Catholic Liga in that year, also in 1591-1592, whilst in the following year, 1592-1593, he is found fighting with the town of Strassburg against the Duke of Lorraine. During the subsequent thirteen years he undertook several journeys through Germany, but the last nine years of his life, from 1606-1615, he spent on his estate in Kremzow, where he died. He was buried on July 15, 1615.

The original manuscript of Lupold von Wedel's journal belongs to the Library of Graf von der Osten in Plathe, Pomerania, and is comprised in a volume of 713 pages folio. The original binding (wooden boards in brown leather) still exists, but the book has been badly treated and is somewhat torn. The journal is transcribed from notes carefully taken at the time by the author, and by him dictated to a secretary.

Now and then, especially towards the end of the volume, von Wedel has added notes in his own handwriting, which is well known through documents existing in the Stettin archives.

The work is in the form of a diary, notes geographical and personal being made, together with incidental remarks on all matters that appeared to him of interest.

The information which von Wedel gives respecting the above-mentioned wars is without doubt of great historical importance, and it will be of interest also to the English scholar that a German edition of von Wedel's writings is in preparation.

His account of journeyings in England and Scotland are instructive as well as entertaining, and present a great deal of information as to the state of affairs during the reign of Queen Elizabeth. The festivities and fêtes attended by the author are described with the minutest detail. The following are a few instances amongst many. A tournament in London. The opening of Parliament by the Queen. The manner in which she dined at Greenwich. The election of the Lord Mayor and his show, and on affairs at the Royal Court at Holyrood, &c.

After his return from the north von Wedel made a longer stay in London, seeing the sights, and he gives full descriptions of the manners and way of living of the people, also describing the public religious services ; he dilates on the method of agriculture in England.

He does not appear to have been at all a credulous nature ; on the contrary, he freely expresses his opinion on occasions when he thinks that he is being imposed upon by tales not strictly in accordance with the facts.

It would appear from the great success that seems to have attended von Wedel in his travels, that he must have had good recommendations from and to very influential persons, for he is often successful where others failed ; for instance, in obtaining a passport to Scotland, which at that time was not granted to foreigners. Indeed, it is possible that a political mission was the cause of his visit to England, for on reaching the Scotch frontier, he and his friends who travelled with him were met by a troop of gentlemen who greeted them in the king's name and gave them honourable reception, ordering special servants to accompany them to Dunbar.

The thorough trustworthiness of Lupold von Wedel as a writer admits of not the smallest doubt ; all that he relates is given in a simple but straightforward manner, and the whole journal bears the stamp of being the reflection of a discerning and candid mind—the very want of polish in the often awkward style shows that no subsequent embellishment was given to the text.

The journal is of importance to the modern reader, not so much perhaps from the facts as related, as from the way in which they presented themselves at the time to the mind of the writer.

Besides the description of his travels and war experiences Lupold von Wedel also wrote a 'Book of Manners,' as he terms it, being a kind of illustrated companion to the present work, and to which he sometimes refers in the text. This work must have been very interesting, but unfortunately it appears to be entirely lost.

The translation of the journey through England and Scotland will, I am persuaded, give the readers of the 'Transactions' an interesting and valuable description of English and Scotch manners and institutions of two hundred years ago as they were viewed by a discerning and experienced foreign traveller.

On August 14 we¹ sailed from Flushing on board an English ship for England along the coast of Flanders, on the same route that I sailed four years ago from Portugal towards Zeeland. On our passing Flanders we had on our left hand in the first place Sluis, a castle with a port, afterwards Blackenborck (Blankenberghe), Brugge (Bruges), Nugportt (Nieuport), Osstende (Ostend), Dunkirchen (Dunkerque), Greblingen (Gravelines), which lies at the utmost frontier of Flanders, three miles from Kales (Calais), which is in France.

Towards evening we left Greblingen behind us and came during the night so far into the open sea, that early on the 15th we saw England. About noon we reached a place called Vorlant (Foreland), that juts out into the sea, and is about thirty miles² distant from Flushing. Here we always sailed along the coast of England, leaving it to our left hand, till about four o'clock in the evening, when we had a contrary wind and were obliged to cast anchor. There we stopped until midnight, when we started again in spite of the wind being adverse. We tacked until we gained a port, which is the port for London and has land on both sides; here it takes the form of a river and is called Temes (Thames), where we again cast anchor. This river rises in the interior of England and takes its course hard by the city of London.

On the 16th we sailed again, though the wind was very bad. We were beating until we came six miles³ below London, where the skipper cast anchor. Some merchants and ourselves hired a boat, travelled two miles, and when it became dark

¹ We, *i.e.* Lupold von Wedel and his companion Ewald von der Goltz, a German gentleman of noble birth, whom von Wedel mentions now and then in the text.

² German miles.

³ English miles.

reached a village, where we got something to eat. This done, we again entered the boat, sailed with the tide during the night as far as *London*, where we arrived on the 17th at break of day.

About a mile distance from London we passed a royal palace. Here in London we took lodgings at the 'White Bear.'¹ From the place where we first reached England to London are twenty miles; the distance from Zeeland to London amounts to fifty German miles. In the following, English miles are understood, three of them making one German mile.²

It being our wish to travel to Scotland, which could not be done without a passport, I on the 18th hired a boat and started with the intention to go to the queen's court (as she was not staying in London at this time) to ask for a passport. I proceeded up the Temes into the country and at the further end of London I came to a house lying to my left hand near the river and almost opposite the queen's house, which was to my right hand. This palace is called *Lambes* (Lambeth), and belongs to the highest bishop in England, called bishop of Kanterberg (Canterbury). Some miles further on to the right hand was lying a fine-looking house belonging to the queen. Hence we reached another royal house, situated ten miles from London, called *Ritzmuntt* (Richmond) to our left hand, which I entered with my interpreter. The outward appearance, as well as the courtyards, pavement, and rooms, were of a very royal character, though not built in the German manner, but adorned with many towers and chimneys. Hence we sailed ten miles further to a village called *Kinckstorpf* (Kingston), where, it being late, we stopped for the night.

On the 19th we rose early and started. At a mile's distance we again came to another royal house, called

¹ Samuel Kiechel, a merchant of Ulm, who visited London in 1585, lodged likewise at the 'White Bear'; cf. Rye, *England as seen by Foreigners* (London, 1865), p. 87.

² This is not quite right, $4\frac{1}{2}$ English miles are equal to one German mile.

Hampenkorth (Hampton Court), which is considered the largest building in England, for from the distance it has the appearance of a town. The Emperor Charles and the Prince of Condé lodged here as guests of the Queen of England, both potentates finding room in it with their entire suites (that they had brought with them to England) for lodgment. This house was situated to our right hand. We saw the inner parts, which, as well as the outside, are very magnificent and beautiful. The environs are well arranged in gardens and ponds. The latter may at leisure be left dry or filled with water and fish then let in. I never before saw the like of them.

Nine miles further on I came to the house where the queen stayed with her court. This house is called *Atlath* (Oatlands).¹ It is also a fine building, but it does not equal the two I saw before. I at once went to court with my interpreter, to hand a petition to the queen's secretary, Francis Walsingen (Walsingham), a gentleman of high position. After a pause he came to me, asked information from me about different subjects, saying that he would give me a passport, which indeed I received afterwards. Some gentlemen of the court found this very remarkable, and said to Germans and other nations passports² had often been refused, because at this time the queen was not on good terms with the Scotch.

As soon as I had the passport in my hands—about three o'clock P.M.—I again stepped into my boat, sailing down the river thirty miles towards London, where I arrived at twelve o'clock. All the time the river was full of tame swans, who have nests and breed on small islands formed by the river. They are exclusively used for the queen's table, and it is on pain of death forbidden to meddle with them.³

¹ None of the foreign travellers to England during the reign of Elizabeth seem to have visited this place, except Duke Philipp Julius of Pomerania; cf. *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, vol. vi.

² About passport, cf. Rye, pp. 14 and 47.

³ As to the impression the great number of swans on the Thames made on foreigners, cf. Rye, p. 183, n. 8.

The town of London is very large,¹ the English consider it to be four English miles in length; but there is no wall surrounding it, because the country is well defended by fortifications along the coast. There is much commerce here and traffic, as everybody knows. There are 124 churches in the town, and 50,000 in all England. The Temes is crossed by a bridge, leading to another town on the other side of the water called *Sedorck* (Southwark). This bridge is built of stone, 470 paces long, but its upper part has not the appearance of a bridge, being entirely set with fine houses filled with all kinds of wares, very nice to look at.

England is, like other kingdoms, divided into different districts and provinces, thirty-six in number, as far as the English tongue goes. The province which we reached first, and which was lying to our left hand, was *Kent*; to the right, *Eckseckses*; London lies in *Middelsecks*. The other provinces are called *Norfolk*, *Sufock*, *Huntuntunseir*, *Linkunseir*, *Jorckseir*, *Wesmerlant*, *Desman* (?), *Nortumberlant*, *Betfoseir*, *Schrapseir*, *Staffatseir*, *Ursterseir*, *Wilseir*, *Warrackseir*, *Summetsetseir*, *Nesteseir*, *Kembritseir*, *Eckkesfortseir*, *Sussecks*, *Berckseir*, *Hamseir*, *Darssetseir*, *Lancusseir*, *Dunetseir*, *Karnol*, *Kummerlant*, *Bissebruck* (?), *Vandorrn* (?), *Darbiseir*, *Schesseir*, *Notingemseir*, *Zetzeseir* (?). There are two other names wanting here which I have forgotten. Besides these, there are fourteen provinces in England in which the English language is not spoken, for there are six different languages used in England. It may be seen by this that England is divided into fifty provinces.²

¹ Cf. Rye, p. 185, n. 2.

² The shires in the order of the MS. may probably be identified as follows : Kent, Essex, Middlesex, Norfolk, Suffolk, Huntingdonshire, Lincolnshire, Yorkshire, Westmoreland, Durham (?), Northumberland, Bedfordshire, Shropshire, Staffordshire, Worcestershire, Wiltshire, Warwickshire, Somersetshire, Cambridgeshire, Oxfordshire, Sussex, Berkshire, Hampshire, Dorsetshire, Lancashire, Devonshire (?), Cornwall, Cumberland, Derbyshire, Cheshire, Nottinghamshire. It will be seen that three shires have not been identified in this list—namely, Bissebruck, Vandorrn, and Zetzeseir, which might possibly be intended for Bucks, Northampton, and Leicestershire respectively, leaving four instead of two shires which had been ‘forgotten’—namely, Hereford, Gloucestershire, Surrey, and Rutland—irrespective of the archaic northern shires Hallamshire, Hexhamshire, Norhamshire, &c.—[Ed.]

The queen's coat of arms is a red cross, forming four fields; in two of them are three lilies, in the two others three lions. The shield is surmounted by a crown, bearing a rose.

As to what concerns the English coin, four pence make a stoter,¹ three stoters make a shilling silver, five shillings are equal to one English crown, ten shillings make one angelot, six shillings one French crown, six shillings less two pence are equal to one pistol crown.

On the 23rd we went across the bridge to the above-mentioned town. There is a round building three stories high, in which are kept about a hundred large English dogs, with separate wooden kennels for each of them. These dogs were made to fight singly with three bears,² the second bear being larger than the first, and the third larger than the second. After this a horse was brought in and chased by the dogs, and at last a bull, who defended himself bravely. The next was, that a number of men and women came forward from a separate compartment, dancing, conversing and fighting with each other: also a man who threw some white bread among the crowd, that scrambled for it. Right over the middle of the place a rose was fixed, this rose being set on fire by a rocket: suddenly lots of apples and pears fell out of it down upon the people standing below. Whilst the people were scrambling for the apples, some rockets were made to fall down upon them out of the rose, which caused a great fright but amused the spectators. After this, rockets and other fireworks came flying out of all corners, and that was the end of the play.

On the 24th we saw the queen's lions, of which she keeps several, also an eagle and a lynx. This day we went to a common a mile distance out of the town, where we saw the megger (mayor) or burgomaster of the town, the highest next to the queen, governing not only the town but the whole country, to whom royal honour is offered. He came on horseback, ten men in long black coats marching before him,

¹ Originally a Dutch silver coin about a penny and half in value.

² About bear and bull baiting, cf. Rye, pp. 46 and 214, n. 56.

after these two young men, I believe his sons, in red velvet coats, embroidered with gold, and yellow hose. After these walked two old men (aldermen); the one, in a coat of black cloth like the men before, carried a golden sceptre; the other, walking to the right hand, had a damask coat, on his head a cap embroidered with gold, and bore a gilt sword in a scabbard, embroidered in the same manner. After these two came the burgomaster in a coat of scarlet cloth riding on a well-caparisoned horse, with guardsmen on both sides, clad in gold overhanging coats, front and back, which looked very stately. After him rode a young fellow in a short black velvet coat, followed by twenty-three old men in scarlet coats, who are of the town council. Altogether there may have been upwards of 1,000 persons on the spot. Here the strongest fellows of England were ordered to fight with each other, stepping two by two into a ring formed by ropes near a tent. They were without their coats, with stuffed linen rings round their necks, and fought chiefly with one hand in the manner the ancient Romans used to do. It looked very manly. This lasted until six o'clock in the evening, when each of those who had kept the ground received three shillings. Then two big and strong fellows stepped forward, keeping their coats on, but, taking off their shoes, got hold of each other in the German manner by their throatbands and wrestled with each other. Once they made a pause to recover breath; when they met again, the one mastered the other and threw him to the ground. He got also three shillings, but some of the men in the scarlet coats threw him money besides. This was the end of the play, then the mayor returned back to town, in the manner he had come with trumpets. Such play is performed every year on the same day as this year, *i.e.* St. Bartholomew mass.¹ When I got back to town I saw a cow with six legs, a sea-hog and a sea-tortoise. The cow had four regular legs like any other

¹ Paul Hentzner, a German lawyer of Brandenburg, who travelled in England 1598, gives also a description of the Lord Mayor's presence at Bartholomew Fair; cf. Rye, p. 107.

cow, only with very long hoofs, in consequence of which it could neither stand nor walk. The two other legs stood out of the shoulders, but did not reach down to the ground, only as far as the knees of the forelegs. They had bones and hoofs like the other legs.

On the 25th I went with some other Germans to a church and monastery called *Westminster*, where all the kings of England have their sepulchres. In the choir a chair was shown to us, in which all the English kings are crowned, and in which I also sat down. In this chair is enclosed a stone on which Jacob the patriarch is said to have rested. Who likes to believe that may do so.¹ On one sepulchre in this choir there was a sword with the hilt twelve of my spans long, and in width broader than my hand. This sword, which is of a mighty weight, belonged to King Ilwardus, who lies buried here, and was wielded in both hands by him in war.

In this choir lies King Henry III., who has built this church and reigned fifty years. In a separate chapel lies a well-embalmed body, which, like the dead bodies in Egypt, cannot decay. It is the body of a born French queen, Carine or Cattarine, whom King Henry V. married after having gained the victory over France. It is now 150 years since she died. In the middle of the choir lies Edward III., the last Saxon king, as well as Settertus, the first Saxon king. Leaving the choir we came to a chapel, the walls of which as well as those of the church were built in sandstone showing reliefs, representing objects in sacred history. Here lies the grandfather of the present queen, Henry VII., by the side of his consort, who erected this chapel. To the right side, in a separate chapel, Queen Mary is buried, wife of Philipp, the present King of Spain, and in the middle of the chapel Etwardus Secktus, brother of the present queen, also a French queen with her two little children. The present King of Scotland's grandmother is also buried here and many

¹ Cf. George Gilbert Scott, *Gleanings from Westminster Abbey*, Oxford and London, 1863, p. 121 seqq.

more kings and queens, all of which I could not mark down. These sepulchres are all above the earth, worked in a very royal and stately manner in marble or brass at great expense ; and in order that everybody may see who is buried here, the effigy, whether it be male or female, in their full natural size, is worked in stone or metal and put on the top of the sepulchre. Around the sepulchre the children of the deceased are represented kneeling, which is of a very good effect.

Hence we went to a place called *Bredewell* (Bridewell), which, as we were told, the King of England ordered to be built in six weeks for the Emperor Charles V., who lodged in it. It is very wonderful that in six weeks a palace like this, with two large courtyards in it, can be erected. Afterwards when the king became enemy of the emperor, he, to disgrace the latter, made it a place of confinement for harlots and villains, who are kept there to the present day. The men are forced to tread a mill, which is so constructed that as long as they tread it flour is ground by it. The males as well as the females are whipped twice a week ; besides the latter must work very hard until they have done penance for their evil doings. (Most of the females are prostitutes, having been kept by men.) We were led into a chamber, where the walls were panelled with a kind of wood having the appearance of veins of silver, in the form of plants, and we considered it a pity that such a palace should be turned to such a mean purpose.

After dinner we visited a *castle* which is said to have been built by Julius Cæsar, after whom it is named. This castle is very large, has a ditch and walls, and is occupied by a military garrison. Before the castle were lying about fifty large cannons, not mounted on wheels. On entering we were led into a chamber filled with polished armour ; there was also a lance, used in English wars by a Zoffoger ; the handle of it was so thick that it would have cost me four spans to grasp it. He who used it must have been an immense fellow.¹

¹ Perhaps the lance of Charles Brandon, Duke of Suffolk, which Hentzner mentions when describing his visit to the Tower in 1598 ; cf. Rye, pp. 19 and 207, n. 42.

Hence we went to the *Mint*; on both sides of the wall sat many men doing nothing but coining money. We entered another chamber full of polished armour; a large box was filled with gorgets. Then we were led to see gilt bedsteads, curtains, tapestry, tablecovers, cushions, all worked very royally in silk and gold, chairs covered with velvet stuff, embroidered with gold, and mounted with gold and silver; in short, as it becomes royal apartments to be. Hence they took us to the arsenal, which is ninety paces long and contains good cannons. In front of the arsenal were a great many cannon balls, heaped in the shape of a pyramid. We were led into a large room full of long spears, halberds, and pikes, all gilt; the long spears had velvet covers. There was a pole-axe that you might strike, stab, or shoot with, and another by which three shots might be fired. The guide told us that with the armour kept there 10,000 men might be armed; which I do not believe, for with the exception of the beds, chairs, and tapestry above mentioned, I did not see anything remarkable and worthy of a royal arsenal.

On the 26th I and my companions went to see the queen's palace, where she always resides when she is in London. This place, which is situated two miles from my lodgings, is named *Weittholl* (Whitehall). In front of it we first saw the tilt-yard, besides a ball-house, where they play at featherballs. There is also a long-stretched building, in which they play with wooden balls. Upstairs the gentlemen play, the common people below; they do not play in the German manner, but in another fashion. This is called the 'Boule-house.' Hence we went into the queen's garden, in which there are thirty-four high columns, covered with various fine paintings; also different animals carved in wood, with their horns gilt, are set on the top of the columns, together with flags bearing the queen's arms. In the middle of the garden is a nice fountain with a remarkable sun-dial, showing the time in thirty different ways. Between the splices that are planted in the garden there are fine walks grown with grass, and the splices are planted very artistically, surrounded by plants in the shape

of seats. Close to this garden there is an orchard ; at the foot of the trees aromatic plants are planted. A man, in whose keeping the rooms of the palace are, took us out of the garden and led us to see the inner part of the palace, to which there are only two keys. On mounting a staircase we got into a passage right across the tiltyard ; the ceiling is gilt, and the floor ornamented with mats. There were fine paintings on the walls, among them the portrait of Edward, the present queen's brother, who was cut out of his mother's womb, he remaining alive, whilst the mother died. If you stand before the portrait, the head, face, and nose appear so long and misformed that they do not seem to represent a human being, but there is an iron bar with a plate at one end fixed to the painting ; if you lengthen this bar for about three spans and look at the portrait through a little hole made in the plate in this manner O you find the ugly face changed into a well-formed one. This must indeed be considered a great piece of art.¹ There is also the portrait of Moses ; they say that it is very like, but it looks as if one were blowing into burning coal in the dark. Also Christ's passion, apparently painted in glass, all set with gilt roses. In another room is the portrait of Henry VIII., father to the present queen, a corpulent personage. He wears the garter with the inscription 'Honi soit qui mal y pense.' The knights also wear such garters. In another long room are the portraits of the old Elector of Saxony with Zwingli and many other ecclesiastical men, the King and Queen of France, Duke of Zaffre (Savoy), Prince of Orange, all very like, with fine scrolls and epigrams on the portraits of the clerics. We were led into the queen's audience chamber, which is very large and high with gilt ceiling, upon which, on tablets, are written the dates of wars that have been made. The queen's bedroom has also a gilt ceiling, but only one window. In the room which the late king inhabited, whilst living, the Privy Council is now held. Here is a fine chimney-piece with the royal

¹ See what Hentzner says about this 'perspectively painted' portrait of the king ; Rye, p. 280, n. 149.

arms cut in a stone as clear as crystal, with two lions as supporters. We were taken into a long passage across the water, which on both sides is beautifully decorated with shields and mottoes. These shields originate from tournaments which the queen orders to be held twice a year, the first on her birthday, the second when she ascended the throne. Everybody who wishes to take part must ask permission; this being granted, he offers the shield to the queen, who orders it to be hung up there.

In this passage the queen has secret doors to the river if she wishes to take a trip on the water.¹ Then we were brought to a grass plot surrounded by broad walks below and above, enabling many persons to promenade there. In the middle of the place a pulpit is erected, with a sounding board above. When the queen commands preaching here, the walks are filled with auditors. Hence we were brought into a high and spacious house with many windows and inside full of seats and benches one above the other, so that many people may be seated there. The ceiling is hung with leaves and thick bushes. When foreign gentlemen are present, the queen orders all sorts of amusements to be arranged here, while above in the bushes birds sing beautifully. In one room we were taken to stood a box covered with red velvet, six spans long, two high, and three broad, filled with precious stones, collars, and royal jewellery, which King Philipp of Spain is said to have brought to England when he married Queen Mary. In another room they showed us tapestry of silver cloth, on which were embroidered various animals in gold. This tapestry is fixed to the wall for the queen to lean against. Besides this was a red velvet cover, embroidered with gold, to be used when she goes in her barge, also long red velvet coats, lined and faced with costly white fur. The coats were embroidered with gold, and caps lined with the same fur, and long big tassels on the top. Such coats and caps are for the gentlemen of Parliament. In one room we

¹ This passage is mentioned in John Norden's *Notes on London and Westminster*, 1592; cf. Rye, p. 99.

saw a portrait, fourteen spans and a half long, representing a man who was born in Antwerp and had come over to England. Almost in every room there was a musical instrument with silver-gilt ornaments and lined with velvet; one of these looked like a large high box, and contained in the interior various other instruments, and among these one that made music by itself. In short, the interior of the palace is very beautiful and royal indeed; the exterior did not differ from many other houses I have visited. I saw even several of a finer exterior, but the latter did not equal this on the inside. After having seen all this, we went to the royal stables, which are built square with a large court, in the middle of which is a fountain. A large number of horses can be kept here; we found the stables empty, the queen being absent. We saw another royal house not very distant, with three courtyards, a garden, many large rooms, and a remarkable exterior; but the inside did not come up to the house before mentioned, also the queen does not often stay there.

As it was my plan to visit Scotland, I arranged with Francis von Trotha, from Saxony, who was staying in England with a tutor and servant, and with a gentleman named von Honsberck, with his Christian name Wulf Sigismund, from Bavaria, that we should travel together on horseback. We took with us a person from the Stalhof,¹ John Wachendorf, born in Cologne, who knew the language, and Ewald Goltz joining us, we were altogether seven persons.

On August 29, in the afternoon, we left London, riding twelve miles by post as far as *Waldenkross* (Waltham Cross), which is a borough. Here we took fresh horses and rode eight miles to *Wher* (Ware), where we stopped for the night. Here flows the *Eli* (Lea).

On the 30th we posted thirteen miles to *Reisten* (Royston), took fresh post, nine miles, till *Kacksel* (Caxton?), there fresh

¹ The 'Stalhof' (Steelyard), in Lower Thames Street, belonged to the German Hanse merchants. The last traces of the buildings were removed during 1863. Cf. Rye, p. 190. Peter Eisenberg mentions the Steelyard ('Stilliarde') in his Guide-book, 1614; cf. Rye, pp. 172 and 190.

post taken to *Huntintun* (Huntington), seven miles, again fresh post, nine miles to *Stilton* (Stilton), there post taken again to *Stampffort* (Stamford), twelve miles, where we stopped for the night. Here flows the *Wilantt* (Welland), but on our way we had crossed a water called the *Boste*.

On the last day of this month we rode eight miles till *Weitem*, only a village, where we took fresh post to *Nuywack* (Newark), eight miles. This is only a village. From hence we rode ten miles with fresh post to *Tuckesfortt* (Tuxford). Here flows the *Trenz* (Trent). From hence we rode eleven miles by fresh post. Here flows a water called *Dun* (Don).

On September 1 we rode seven miles as far as *Dunkester* (Doncaster), hence by fresh post ten miles to *Ferepriz* (Ferrybridge), here flows the *Er* (Aire), and with fresh post twelve miles till *Wederbei* (Wetherby). Here flows the *Warf* (Wharfe), and we stopped here for the night. When riding out of *Ferepriz* the post-boy goaded the horses so that Trotha's tutor, being fatigued from riding post, fell from the horse, and by the fall his feet came between the horse's feet, which also fell upon him. We took him to be dead, and I dismounting tried, with another's help, to pull the horse from his body. Now he recovered himself, but a part of his cheek was gone.

When we left London, a nobleman called Meddelton asked us to visit his house and to chase there, and dine on a dappled deer buck, giving us at the same time written order to his steward. As the house, whose name was *Stockelhol*, was only a mile distant from our route, we sent the order to it and two of us rode there. The steward, who had begged other gentlemen and noblemen to come with their dogs, came to fetch us, and we chased a fine buck on the plain. It gave us great pleasure to see their method of hunting. We had the game prepared and had our meal of it that day.

On the 3rd we were up at twelve o'clock, posting twelve miles to *Parrebrug* (Boroughbridge), passing the river *Nitt* (Nidd) on our road. Here flows the *Jur* (Ure). We saw here five columns, one lying on the ground, which are said to have been erected by a Roman in memory of himself when that

nation possessed this country. Hence we rode with fresh post twelve miles till *Northallertun* (Northallerton), where we stopped for the night.

On the 4th we rode ten miles to *Darlintun* (Darlington). When we were in full gallop, Ewaltt, Golze and Trote fell very heavily with their horses, but they did not injure themselves. Hence with fresh post to *Daram* (Durham), twelve miles. Here is an Episcopal See and a castle on high, widely surrounded by walls. We were told that there are thirty bishopricks in England. We crossed a water called *Zundell* (Sunderland Bridge?), and rode with fresh post as far as *Nugkastel* (Newcastle), twelve miles. Here flows the *Teine* (Tyne).

On the 5th we rode to *Marpett* (Morpeth), twelve miles, here flows the *Wonspeck* (Wansbeck). Hence with fresh post to *Anwick* (Alnwick), twelve miles, crossing a water called *Kuke* (Coquet). Here flows the *Il* (Ahn?). Hereabout oats and barley were still standing, though it was fourteen days after St. Bartholomew. Near London they were already gathered. This town belongs to the Duke of Northumberland,¹ whom the queen keeps imprisoned in London. They say his yearly income is one ton and a half of gold. The country here belonged formerly to the Scotch, but has been taken by the English. There is still visible a ditch which the Emperor Severus had ordered to be made to separate Scotland from England, and the foundation of a wall, which the Emperor Hadrianus erected to hinder the Scotch from invading England, as they used to do before.

On the 6th we rode to *Belfart* (Belford), twelve miles, and from hence twelve miles again with fresh post to *Barwick* (Berwick). Hard on this side of the town flows a river called *Tuwett* (Tweed), over which leads a long wooden bridge, whilst in England they have always fine stone bridges, even across small rivers.

On entering the gate, some soldiers, of which about 1,000

¹ Perhaps Henry, Earl of Northumberland, †1585; younger brother, Thomas, beheaded August 20, 1572.

are garrisoned here, brought us to an inn. This is the last town in England, only one mile distance from the Scotch frontier. That is also the reason why this town is fortified, there being no other fortified places in England. As soon as we had dismounted we were brought to the governor, Henry Care, called Milord Hunston, a near relative to the queen, to whom we showed our passports. He bid us welcome, saying he would give us letters of recommendation to Scotland, for which we expressed our thanks and took leave.

On the 7th the said governor invited us to supper. Some ladies and gentlemen were with us at table, and we were well treated with eating and drinking. There was no silver used on the table, only tin dishes and wooden plates. They drank very plentifully,¹ more than is the general habit, drinking to us in big tumblers. This they did to honour us, for all nations speak about the drinking habits of the Germans. But this was done only as long as the supper lasted ; when it was finished, everybody rose, we took leave and went to our lodgings.

On the 8th the governor let us know that he had sent over to Scotland to announce our arrival, that we might have no trouble in crossing the frontiers. Being obliged to await the return of the messenger, we visited the fortifications, which are pretty good. The houses in the town are mean and thatched with straw. The town lies on the sea and has a port, in which there is a pier, 330 steps long and pretty high, which the people esteem as a defence against the enemy. I considered it rather to afford a landing. It is said to have cost the sum of 102,000 crowns. There are many ravens in this town, which it is forbidden to shoot, upon pain of a crown's payment, for they are considered to drive away the bad air. The river that flows near the town separates England from Scotland at present, but the frontier between the two kingdoms is about a mile further on, as will be shown hereafter.

¹ Literally : 'They had a great soaking with us.' Fynes Moryson has a curious passage respecting the drinking customs of the English about 250 years ago ; cf. Rye, p. 190, n. 20.

On the 11th the news arrived, as the governor had assured us, we might pass safely. Consequently we got ready and on the 12th took post again and came to a village called *Mortiton* (Mordington), a mile distant. About a gunshot from the village on this side, seven Scotchmen on horseback awaited us, who bade us the king's welcome on the border, six others joining them soon after, so that they were thirteen altogether. Neither horses nor men were well dressed, as it is not their way. The horses were small and bad-looking, saddles and bridles as well, the latter having no bits. The riders or gentlemen and their servants wore long capes, as is the fashion there. For a time they accompanied us, then took their leave, ordering one of the servants to take us to a town called *Dunbar*, twenty miles off. We crossed a small river called *Wi* (? Eye). Here has been a fine castle formerly, but now it is pulled down and destroyed. The castle as well as the town lie on the sea shore. Not far off is an island in the sea, called *Bass*, on which live wild geese in wonderfully large numbers. The access is so difficult, that it is almost impossible to take possession of it. The lord of the island, whose name was *Sorselader*, lives four miles off, so we went to him, asking permission to visit the island and stop there for the night, which he granted us.

On the 13th we rose, and when the tide was out, rode four miles on the sand where the sea had been, and after one mile's more riding, came to a strong house called *Tamtallon* (Tantallon), belonging to a gentleman called *Angus*, who afterwards got into disgrace, fled to England, and the king took possession of his house. Here we met a servant of Mr. *Sorselader*, who took us two miles across the sea in two boats to the island of *Bass*. We were taken round the island, which is about a mile in circumference. Its height is equal to half a mile, nothing but steep rock like a wall. There is only one spot where the shore is low and the island might be taken, but here a fortification is erected. Even here the ascent is very difficult, and they sometimes make use of a winding machine to wind people up. First we mounted the

rock, then, after putting aside our swords and daggers, the garrison allowed us to pass through four gates. Now we arrived at the regular castle, and saw a mill, very cleverly arranged so that it can be set in motion by a single person. Then we were brought to a chapel, situated high above the castle, but small and insignificant; afterwards we came to a garden with a spring in it. It is very strange that out of such a high rock, surrounded by the sea, a fountain should rise. On one side of this island we saw many thousands of geese, which up to their second year are of a grey colour, afterwards they grow white. They are of the same size as tame geese, but somewhat longer, have a long and pointed beak, no tongue, and three webs on the feet, other geese having only two. They lay only one egg every year, and do not sit upon it, like other geese and birds, with their body and feathers, but by standing upon it with their right foot. Though there is the sea all around, they are found on no other island. They are not able to fly if they do not see the water, but the moment they see it, they can fly. We believe this because we ourselves saw a boy catching one that had got into a corner, where it could not see the water. When they wish to catch these geese, they let a boy down the rock by a rope, who kills the number wanted with a cudgel and throws them into the water. Then they row to the place and collect many a boatful. There are also other birds and turtle-doves on this island. Besides these there comes every fourth year to the island a bird, spotted black and white, as large as a blackbird, called Schutt. I did not see this bird myself, it having already gone. It lays an egg in the month of May, larger than itself, and leaves the island in August. The fat of the goose is very good in cases of paralysis, the limbs being rubbed with it. In summer there are here such quantities of geese and other birds, that, as we were told, the lord of the island by the flesh, the feathers, and the fat gains 1,000 crowns a year at least. There are also many rabbits on the island. In the castle there are besides the garrison many cannon, one of them to be loaded from behind. The king has offered a

great sum of money for the island, but, finding the owner not willing to part with it, he said that he might keep it and the devil into the bargain. After having seen all this, we rowed the two miles back again, the garrison giving the salute with six shots out of their big cannons. We mounted our horses and rode twelve miles to *Prestenpoms* (Preston Pans), where large quantities of salt are obtained by boiling from the sea-water. A mile further on we reached a town called *Musselbruch* (Musselburgh). Here flows a river of the same name. Between the salt works and this town a battle has taken place some forty years ago between the English and the Scotch, in which the English gained the victory and 30,000 Scotch were slain. We saw the field of the battle, our guide having taken part in the latter. Four miles hence we reached *Edenborch* (Edinburgh), the capital of Scotland and the king's principal residence. Here our guide took leave of us.

On the 14th we visited the place where the present king's father was strangled. His own wife, a born Queen of Scotland and heiress of the realm, had chosen him for her consort, who was also of royal birth, and has caused him to be killed by her lover. His name was King Hinricus Stewardus. The place was a royal palace, but when they had killed the king they placed a quick match to the powder magazine to blow up the building, and to make believe the king had lost his life by an unforeseen misfortune. But the truth came out afterwards ; the queen was taken prisoner by the lords, and kept confined for five years. By stratagem she gained her liberty and gathered 10,000 men, but the governor of the kingdom slew her army with 4,000 men. She sought help from the Queen of England, who kept her in suspense, not refusing assistance entirely. Meanwhile the Scotch had intrigued with the Duke of Norfolk, an English nobleman, against the Queen of England to deprive her of the throne.¹ When this became known the duke was beheaded, for, the Scotch queen being a very beautiful woman, he had also had

¹ Thomas, Duke of Norfolk, beheaded June 12, 1572.

illicit intercourse with her. He was the last duke in England. The queen was imprisoned and is kept so to the present day. Hence we went to see the college.

On the 16th we went three miles out of town into the country to a little church with a house close by. Between the church and the house there is a well protected by a roof, church and well bearing the name of St. Katherine. From this well flows oil, which, when rubbed into the skin, is good for many an evil. We ordered the well to be emptied to the ground, when the oil came out from different openings brown and thick. I took some of it with me, to persuade myself of its qualities.

On the 17th we went a Scotch mile, which is equal to one English mile, from *Edenborck* to *Liiz* (Leith), that lies on the sea and has a port. We crossed the water in a common boat, and at seven miles' distance reached a town called *Kingern* (Kinghorn), where we took horses and rode twelve miles to *St. Joantun* (St. John's Town). Here flows the *Teig* (Tiel); some time before we had crossed the *Livon* (Leven) and the *Irr* (? Orr). The river *Livon* flows in a most extraordinary way, I believe I never saw a river like it before. In a house outside the town the king held his residence with his court.

On the 19th we rode six miles out of the town in the same direction we had come. There lies a stone in the middle of the field, where the oats were still in heaps. This stone is of considerable size, but it moves by being touched, and indeed, I could make it move to and fro with my thumb. We met a peasant, who told us that the king had been here also, and caused men to dig under the stone with the intention to move it from its place and to see what was underneath; but whatever pains they took, they could not manage it. After having seen this, we rode the six miles back again to the town. Shortly after our return two Scotch gentlemen or noblemen from the king's court came to our lodgings, giving notice to our servants that permission was granted to us to see the king. After their departure they returned once more, saying that next Sunday, being the 20th, the king would go to

church, where we might see him at our leisure. This indeed we did and had a seat shown us nearly opposite to the king and not very distant from his chair. When we entered, the church was already filled with people wishing to hear the sermon, but it lasted more than an hour before the king came, and there was no singing nor anything else, the assembly remaining in entire silence. When the king came with all his courtiers he seated himself in a very common chair that showed no ornament whatever except a velvet carpet and cushion, to lean upon. Close by him stood his cousin, called Stuwertt, a young, not yet grown up, gentleman, behind them the servants. Now they sang about five psalms, for here as well as in England Zwinglian ceremonies are in use. This done, the Bishop of *Andree* (St. Andrew's) mounted the pulpit and delivered a sermon. He is a gentleman and rich bishop, for there are sixteen stately sees in Scotland. He had a long red taffety coat on. When the sermon was finished, they again sung five psalms, the king left the church, mounted his horse, and rode home. His suite consisted of twenty men on horseback and fifty archers, as we were told, but they did not appear to be so numerous. The king's name is Jacobus Stuwertt, the latter being his family name. He is a fine gentleman, twenty years old as they say, of a smooth appearance, having no beard. He was nicely dressed after Italian fashion in a red coat. His hat, or hat-ribbon, was decorated with a brilliant diamond cross. The court does not show much royal splendour.

On the 21st we returned to *Bruntilett* (Burntisland) which lies on that part of the sea where we had crossed the port.

On the 22nd we rowed seven miles across the port, reaching again Lüz (Leith), from which we walked to *Edenborck*, one mile, and entered our former lodgings.

On the 23rd we visited the king's palace, lying in front of the town with two court-yards. It is a building of mean appearance, the rooms have no royal accommodation ; but it is surrounded by fine gardens with beautiful planted hedges. On the other side of the town the king has a castle situated

very high and fortified, but with ramparts only. It is in keeping of Count Aron (Arran), the highest of rank in the kingdom. The king seldom goes up there, it serves only as a citadel. This day the Bishop of *Andree*, whom I have mentioned before, preached in *Edenborck*. The women would have stoned him to death if he had not run away and saved himself by flight. The reason was that the king intended to make himself the head of the church, as the Queen of England is in her realm. Some bishops, however, and the lords are in opposition to this project, many have even taken refuge in England in consequence. The bishop, however, is on the king's side, and on that account the populace suspect him of wishing to introduce popery again. This enraged the women to such a degree that, as aforesaid, they were going to kill him with stones.

On the 24th an instrument was shown to us, consisting of two upright poles, joined together by a third pole fixed horizontally. At the foot of the two poles a board was fixed to keep a man's head or neck tight in a hole, rendering it unable to move. At the top of the two poles was a heavy iron with an edge sharp as an axe. This iron was held by a rope attached to a hook ; if the hook was loosened, the iron fell down upon the board below, cutting off the head which was fast in the hole. With this instrument was beheaded, on the impulse of the said Count of Aron, who stepped in his place, Count Wilhelm Erbrouenburck,¹ a gentleman of high rank and peer of the kingdom. He was an excellent man, who showed more friendship and honour to foreigners especially to Germans, than has ever been done since.

On the 28th we met a colonel, who had served in Danzig and in the Netherlands, married to a German Countess of Manderscheid,² who had been twice married before, first to a Count of Isenburck, and afterwards to a Count of Padenborck. Her present husband had become acquainted with her in the

¹ This should refer to James Earl of Morton ; executed 1581.—[Ed.]

² Erica, Countess of Manderscheid, daughter of Count Theodor, †1560, was married first to Henry, Count of Isenburg, secondly to Wilhelm of Battenberg, thirdly to William Stuart.

Netherlands, and had wooed her six years before she assented. She told me this herself. His name is Wilhelm Stuwertt ; he invited us to be his guests, and treated us very well ; the countess was very much pleased that we, being German, came to see her. In her company was an English Countess of Arron, to the husband of which belongs the island *Morfama*, where the geese; called cleggus (cleg-goose) grow. These geese do not grow on trees, as the tale goes in Germany, but the trees, being fir trees, stand close to the water, which comes dashing against them, and in consequence of the wetting certain abscesses form on the trees like branches, with living germs in them. When spring is coming these abscesses break open, the germ falls down into the water, receives nourishment, grows and is changed into a goose. This, however, is not so much a peculiarity of the trees, but of the water, for the same has been observed on ships being a long time in the water, on which this manner of bringing forth fruit is said to occur also.

Having hitherto spent much money on procuring post-horses, for our journey back we bought seven horses, together with bridles, saddles and all harness, paying for them forty-seven crowns. On Michaelmas day, being the 29th, at four o'clock in the evening, we rode out of *Edenborck* as far as *Musselbruch*. Our host's son, Wilhelm Fuler or Fuller, a scholar, rode with us, who is well liked by the king, because he induced the king to be attentive to everything he shculd see or hear, and keep it well in mind.

On the 30th our companion brought us to a house four miles off, called *Zidon*, belonging to a gentleman who is neither court nor lord, but keeps a rank between the two. We inspected the house and the garden, which latter is surrounded by grown hedges, having the height of two men ; but the proprietor not being at home we rode eight miles further to another gentleman, a friend of Wilhelmus, called Alexander Hum (Hume) at *Northbarwick* (North Berwick), who came to meet us, thanking us that we gave him the honour of our visit. He first showed us his corn, which, after the habit of

this country, was not kept in barns but stood in heaps, then his gardens and other grounds, and treated us splendidly. His wife and young damsel received us also in a very friendly manner, shook hands and kissed us, as is the way there.

On the morning of October 1 we took leave, having first partaken of a meal with our host, who accompanied us to the frontier with five horses. He kept only one of his horses in the stable, the others go grazing, but do not look badly considering they are of the Scotch breed. On the frontier he gave us his blessing and rode back; we travelled sixteen miles further to a house called *Fastkastel*, built on a rock standing singly in the sea, connected to the land by a drawbridge. The surrounding mountains are lower. The owner's name is Herlesserrick. The sea and the drawbridge make this place inaccessible. Hence we rode five miles to a small town called *Hemutt*, where we stopped the night.

The next day we again reached *Barwick* (Berwick), five miles.

Scotland is well fitted for agriculture, only the vine does not grow here. It is not as level as England, the villages look very poor, the houses having stone walls not as high as a man, upon which the roofs are erected and covered with sod. They have children without number, but though they appear to be very poor, this is not the case. The towns have no ramparts, and generally only one street, the houses are built of wood, their outside covered with boards. The population, male as well as female, show no splendour in garments, but are clothed in a very plain way, as I have shown by the drawings in my 'Book of Manners.'¹

As to the coinage I first mention the penny, twelve of which make a shilling, and twenty shillings a pound. Two pounds are equal to three marks, thirty-four shillings make a taler, and forty-eight shillings a crown. There are also four-penny- and eightpenny-pieces, half silver, half copper; the penny-pieces are only copper.

The king's arms show in the lower part of the shield a red

¹ See Introduction.

lion in a golden field, in the upper part also a red lion, holding a sword in one paw and a sceptre in the other. On each side of the shield stands a unicorn as supporter, with a banner and chain. As patron saint the Scotch have St. Andrew, the English St. George. The next to the king in rank is at present the Count of Aron, a young man, but not much liked in the country, for it was his doing that both the last and old regent were murdered, as I have mentioned before. Here in *Barwick* we were again called before the governor, who granted us an audience. This done, we mounted after dinner and rode twenty-four miles to *Anwick*, where we were obliged to leave one of our horses behind, as it was foundered. We bought another for seven crowns. On the 3rd we rode twenty-four miles as far as *Nugkastel*.

The 4th we rested here, saw the royal house, which is of mean appearance, for the kings seldom come here. The queen has never in her life been here.

On the 5th we rode as far as *Darlington*, twenty-six miles.

On the 6th to *Barrepritz* (? Boroughbridge), twenty-two miles.

On the 7th to *Joricke* (York), in German Jericho, twelve miles. The *Use* (Ouse) flows through the town. Here we saw the royal house and the church, 224 paces long and beautiful to look at. The effigies of fourteen kings of England are hewn in stone in the church, among them Rowartus, who had conquered Jerusalem.

On the 8th we rode to *Dunkester* (Doncaster), twenty-six miles.

On the 9th to *Nugwarck*, twenty-eight miles.

On the 10th to *Stampffortt*, twenty-six miles.

On the 11th to *Huntinton*, twenty-one miles.

On the 12th to *Kameriz* or *Kamerich* (Cambridge), twelve miles. Here is a high school, and we visited the colleges fourteen in number; in one of them we saw a book which one of the disciples of St. John the Evangelist had written with his own hand. It was in Greek. We were brought to a place where in former times stood a fine royal house. Now

only the walls of it are still standing, but they keep prisoners here,¹ who as soon as they are condemned are hung on a gallows erected on the spot. The river that flows through the town is called *Aflinde*.

On the 13th we rode to *Wer* (Ware), twenty-four miles.

On the 14th we again reached London at twelve o'clock, the distance from Wer being twenty miles.

On the 17th I rowed with my companions up the Temes to *Consing* (Kingston), twelve miles.

On the 18th we walked a mile between walls which surrounded two gardens and which reach as far as *Hampenkortt* (Hampton Court), where the queen resides. As it was Sunday we went to the church or chapel which is in the palace. This chapel is well decorated with a beautiful organ, silver gilt, with large and small silver pipes. Before the queen marched her lifeguard, all chosen men, strong and tall, two hundred in number, we were told, though not all of them were present. They bore gilt halberts, red coats faced with black velvet, in front and on the back they wore the queen's arms silver gilt. Then came gentlemen of rank and of the council, two of them bearing a royal sceptre each, a third with the royal sword in a red velvet scabbard, embroidered with gold and set with precious stones and large pearls. Now came the queen, dressed in black on account of the death of the Prince of Orange and the Duke of Alansson;² on each side of her curly hair she wore a large pearl of the size of a hazelnut. The people standing on both sides fell on their knees, but she showed herself very gracious, and accepted with an humble mien letters of supplication from rich and poor. Her train was carried behind her by a countess, then followed twelve young ladies of noble birth, children of counts or lords, afterwards twenty-four noblemen, called

¹ Cf. 'Diary of the Journey of Philip Julius, Duke of Pomerania,' *Transactions* (N.S.), vol. vi.

² William, Prince of Orange, born 1533, was killed in the Netherlands July 10, 1584; Francis, Duke of Alençon, born 1555, youngest brother of the Kings of France—Francis II., Charles IX., and Henry III.—died 1584, when governor of the Netherlands.

jarseirer (? yeomen of the guard) in English, with small gilt hunting spears. There are also one hundred of these, though not all on duty at the same time, for they take it in turns. Both sides of the gallery as far as the queen walked through it to the chapel were lined by the guard bearing arms. As the day was almost gone there was no sermon, only singing and delivering prayers. Then the queen returned as she had come and went to her rooms, and when on her passing the people fell on their knees, she said in English : ‘Thank you with all my heart.’ Now eight trumpeters clad in red gave the signal for dinner, and did it very well. Afterwards two drummers and a piper made music according to the English fashion, and we betook ourselves to our lodgings.

A ship had arrived having discovered a country or island larger than England and never before visited by Christian people. The master or captain of the ship, named Ral (Sir Walter Raleigh), had brought with him two men of the island whom we asked permission to see. Their faces as well as their whole bodies were very similar to those of the white Moors at home, they wear no shirts, only a piece of fur to cover the pudenda and the skins of wild animals to cover their shoulders. Here they are clad in brown taffeta. Nobody could understand their language, and they had a very childish and wild appearance.

After dinner we saw the queen’s horses, eighty-one in number, and three carriages ; one was very small, only two persons being able to sit in it. The distance between the fore wheels and hind wheels was very large. The second carriage was lined with red leather fastened with silver gilt nails, and on the third carriage the wheels, being twelve in number, were fixed under the axle in a manner very difficult to describe. Then we went to the queen’s ante-chamber, where we found the ladies and gentlemen in waiting playing cards at several tables for high sums of money. The ladies were finely dressed and well-looking.

On the 19th we returned to London on the river, twenty-one miles.

On the 26th Ewald Goltze left for home ; I remained here during the winter.

On the 27th, Parliament being assembled in London, I went to the house, which is a pretty large palace. I saw the Lord Chancellor and the other gentlemen sitting in council, which looks very stately, for all of them, when they go to Parliament, or when they sit in council with others of their kin, wear their old-fashioned coats, which hang down to the ground.

On the 28th being the day of St. Simon and Juda, a new megger (? mayor) or burgomaster was chosen. This ceremony takes place every year on the same day and in the following manner. The megger in office goes to the town hall followed by the new candidate. They both wear long coats of a brownish violet coloured cloth, lined with marten, and over these other coats of the same colour faced with calabar-skins, the latter hanging down on the back and turned up on the sides. On their heads they wear black caps, and a sceptre and sword were carried before them. After them marched twenty-four councillors clad in the same manner, and in the town hall stood forty-eight men, twenty-four on each side, in long black coats also lined with marten, wearing on their backs large bags (hoods) like those which in Germany the shepherds use, of cloth half red half black, with a bandelier of the same colours over the shoulder and fastened before the chest. When the council has reached the platform the present burgomaster and the one which is to come are seated behind a small table, and then the macebearer advises three times all present to pay attention. Then he takes a book, and he and another gentleman, kneeling down on cushions placed on both sides of the table, they read the oath which the new megger has to swear. When this is done a book bound in red velvet with gilt edges is handed by another person, together with the seal, sword and sceptre, to the new megger. After this ceremony they all go out again, but now the late megger following the newly elected. Before going out, the two meggers and the council had taken off their

overcoats faced with calabar, keeping on only those lined with marten, over which they had large golden chains hanging down in front and on the back as far as the girdle. The queen gives such a chain to every new elected burgomaster, the members of the (town)-council who have been elected meggers once before, wear likewise such chains, the other have only stripes of black velvet on their coats about a hand-breadth broad. The two meggers as well as the council left on horseback, also two secretaries, who rode behind the council. They were clad in similar coats as before said, wearing golden chains beneath their coats. The men with the coloured bags (hoods) marched before and accompanied the new megger to his house.

On the 29th the said megger, together with the members of the council, proceeded by the river Temes (Thames) from the Stalhof to Westminster and to the courts of law. The barge they used was covered with red taffetas ornamented with a white cross, and was followed by many barges filled with mechanics or members of guilds. The men with the coloured bags (hoods) that I had seen yesterday were also present ; they are the masters of the different guilds. Each guild or company had its own barge, ornamented with numerous flags by which each company might be distinguished one from the other. A very large barge, painted black and white, was called the apprentices' barge ; this barge is uncovered. Besides these, on the river were numerous little boats, altogether several hundred in number, carrying people who wanted to see the splendid spectacle. When the megger stepped into the barge a salute of more than a hundred shots was fired, trumpets and musical instruments were heard from all the barges, and there was great rejoicing on the river as far as Westminster. When the megger left the barge a procession marched before him headed by the men bearing the coloured bags (hoods) and some trumpeters ; after these followed more than 200 men and the sergeants, each of the latter bearing in his hand the queen's arms in form of a seal, but broader. Everybody whom they touch with them must

follow them upon pain of death. Then followed a good number of men with white staffs, sixteen trumpeters, and four pipers ; after these two men, each bearing an incense box on a white staff, and then came the man with the sword wearing a broad and high open cap of fur. Now followed the two meggers, behind these the council in the same order as yesterday, but in red coats. The two burgomasters were clad in the same coats. Then followed seventy men with spears, clad at the expense of the burgomaster in blue coats and broad red caps all of the same pattern, according to the English fashion. Now followed the whole population, entering the court-house in a crowd, men as well as women, for the English women want to be present on all such occasions. Though the place was very large, there was no possibility to move. The burgomaster and the council mounted some steps, and swore the oath to the Chancellor of State, who acted as the queen's deputy. When this was over, I and my companions left the place, went down the river in a boat, and took our way to the town hall, where yesterday the megger had sworn to the town. Here sixty tables were placed, each fifteen or twenty paces long, all well arranged. Some steps higher up some more tables were arranged in the same manner, and again a few steps higher, behind a curtain, we saw the megger's table, arranged in stately manner, where he was to sit with the deputies of the queen and the council. We were conducted into two other rooms, four tables being placed in each of them ; in the first we found a great many young ladies dining, in the other as many married ladies, many of them very fine-looking. After having seen this, we went to the kitchens. In the first kitchen meat was roasting on eight fires, in the second only boiled dishes were prepared, in the third pastry of different kinds was made. This banquet is arranged by the megger ; the expense of it is said to amount to five hundred pounds, one pound being equal to five rixdalers. Afterwards we took our way to the broadest street in London, through which the megger passes on horseback from the court-house, the procession marching before

him as aforesaid, but at the head of it there are some fire-engines ornamented with garlands, out of which they throw water on the crowd, forcing it to give way, for the streets are quite filled with people. Then came a person sitting on a fine horse, head, neck, and body being covered with blue taffetas. Then followed seven flag-bearers; two flags were long, five almost like standards, though of a somewhat different cut, and after these a military banner, followed by some trumpets. After the trumpets some men were carrying a representation in the shape of a house with a pointed roof painted in blue and golden colours and ornamented with garlands, on which sat some young girls in fine apparel, one holding a book, another a pair of scales, the third a sceptre. What the others had I forget. Now came the burgomaster and the council, in the same manner as I have already described, on beautiful and well-ornamented horses, with the guard, trumpets, and pipes, followed by the multitude, fine-looking women among it, which was wonderful to be seen. Thus the megger entered the council-house, and held banquet. This done, he went to St. Paul's church with his suite, making procession round the church, whilst hymns were sung and candles borne before him, after which they conducted him with trumpets and music out of the church. This is the way in which they here elect and confirm their burgomaster or megger, who is afterwards knighted by the queen's commissioner. As long as his office lasts he is obliged to keep open house and free table for everybody, and this makes a great difference between him and the burgomasters in Germany. He and his wife have the title Milord and Mylady as long as they live.

On November 11, being St. Martin's Day, I went with some companions five miles down the Temes to the queen's house called *Grunewiz* (Greenwich). Here I met some gentlemen who intended to take part in the tournament which was to take place in London, and of which I will relate hereafter. They were practising in armour on the ground, and broke some lances. After having seen this, we returned to

London. In this house the queen was born, and her mother, a born English lady, was beheaded here by order of the king.

Though the queen is wont to hold a tournament every year on St. Elizabeth's day, which is not only her birthday but also her coronation day, she has not visited London this past summer. On November 12, however, she made her entrance into London to a house near the beginning of the town, called St. Jems (James), in German *St. Jacob*, where in former times the young English kings used to be brought up. When the queen approached the town, the megger with some hundred men met her on horseback—members of the town-council, citizens, and tradesmen, especially many goldsmiths, clad in black velvet coats and wearing golden chains. Crowds of people came running after—men, women, and young girls. The queen's procession was headed by servants on horseback, then came two guardsmen, the gentlemen of the court, and her chamberlains, about twenty in number. Then followed her councillors. Before these, however, three bishops, one of them was the Archbishop of Kanterberck (Canterbury), who is the highest in rank in England. He had fifty horses with him. Behind the queen but close to her rode the Triserer (Treasurer), who is milord, and the Secretary, whose name is Balsinger (Walsingham). The queen sat in an open gilt carriage under a canopy of red velvet, embroidered with gold and pearls. In the front and back parts of the carriage were fastened three plumes of various colours; four brown horses royally attired were harnessed to the carriage, the coachman was clad in red velvet with the queen's crest and the rose, silver gilt in front and on his back. She sat alone by herself in the carriage, being clad in a white robe, and addressed the multitude saying, 'Gott seve mi pippel,' which is in German 'Gott behüte Euch, mein Volck,' the latter answering, 'Gott seve her grass'—in German 'Gott behüte Euer Genade.'¹ The people said this very often, falling on their knees. The queen, while sitting

¹ Hentzner, 1598, when seeing the queen at Greenwich, also mentions this salutation; cf. Rye, p. 105.

alone in the ornamented carriage, looked like goddesses are wont to be painted. Behind the queen's carriage rode Milurtt Lester (Milord Leicester), a count of princely rank who acted a long time as Master of the Horse. Then followed twenty-four ladies-in-waiting on horseback and finely dressed, and afterwards the queen's guard, fifty in number, with long cross-bows and swords. After these came a gilt carriage embroidered with gold and silver, but not equal to the Queen's carriage, and another vehicle of leather ornamented with yellow nails ; both carriages were empty. Now followed those who, as I said before, had come on horseback to meet the queen, and who followed her now into the palace. All the time while the procession lasted the bells were rung.

As we went out to-day, not far from the queen's stables and opposite the square that lies before the royal palace near Westminster, a statue was shown to us hewn out of stone and fixed to the wall. It represents an English queen, who, in punishment of her tyranny, is said here to have sunk into the ground when she passed the gate. They pulled her out again and buried her, but it is said that she was half burned. She kept many falcons, who were daily fed by a man's heart ; the women's breasts she ordered to be cut off and given to her falcons. The statue on the wall is said to show her likeness.

On November 14, I and some others went to the castle called the Tower, to see the gold and silver plate. Some of us had not seen the Tower before, and so we were first led to see the beds of red velvet embroidered with gold and numerous little pearls, the cushions, however, had large pearls. Then we were taken to the entrance of a room, but not allowed to step in, where we saw objects of silver gilt and also of pure gold. Some of them were brought out to us and we were allowed to touch them, *e.g.* a large flask six spans high, a tankard as large as the flask, a salver three spans high, ornamented in the centre with the figures of animals such as lizards, frogs and others, each of them formed in a masterly and artistic manner, with the colours peculiar to them ; a chalice set with diamonds and rubies on the top and three large pearls

hanging at the sides ; a vessel cut out of an agate, the foot being formed by the figures of three goddesses and set with large pearls, emeralds, diamonds and rubies ; another vessel set with nothing but large diamonds, on the lid were two hundred, the others could not be counted ; a salt-cellar three spans high, also with the figure of a goddess holding in her hand a vessel, set with large pearls and precious stones and artistically enamelled with fine figures. This salt-cellar alone was estimated as worth a ton of gold ; how high the others were valued I cannot tell, for they were all of the best and purest gold, except the two we saw first.

Now approached the day when, on November 17, the tournament was to be held, as I mentioned before, St. Elizabeth's day being November 19. About twelve o'clock the queen with her ladies placed themselves at the windows in a long room of *Weithol* (Whitehall) palace, near Westminster, opposite the barrier (lists) where the tournament was to be held. From this room a broad staircase led downwards, and round the barrier stands were arranged by boards above the ground, so that everybody by paying 12*d.* could get a stand and see the play. The pence are to be understood as silver pence, each equal to one groschen of our money. Many thousand spectators, men, women and girls, got places, not to speak of those who were within the barrier and paid nothing. During the whole time of the tournament all who wished to fight entered the list by pairs, the trumpets being blown at the time and other musical instruments. The combatants had their servants clad in different colours, they, however, did not enter the barrier, but arranged themselves on both sides. Some of the servants were disguised like savages, or like Irishmen, with the hair hanging down to the girdle like women, others had horse manes on their heads, some came driving in a carriage, the horses being equipped like elephants, some carriages were drawn by men, others appeared to move by themselves ; altogether the carriages were of very odd appearance. Some gentlemen had their horses with them and mounted in full armour directly from the carriage. There

were some who showed very good horsemanship and were also in fine attire. The manner of the combat each had settled before entering the lists. The costs amounted to several thousand pounds each. When a gentleman with his servant approached the barrier, on horseback or in a carriage, he stopped at the foot of the staircase leading to the queen's room, while one of his servants in pompous attire of a special pattern mounted the steps and addressed the queen in well-composed verses or with a ludicrous speech, making her and her ladies laugh. When the speech was ended he in the name of his lord offered to the queen a costly present, which was accepted and permission given to take part in the tournament. In fact, however, they make sure of the permission before preparing for the combat. Now always two by two rode against each other, breaking lances across the beam. On this day not only many fine horses were seen, but also beautiful ladies, not only in the royal suite, but likewise in the company of gentlemen of the nobility and the citizens. The fête lasted until five o'clock in the afternoon, when milurtt (milord) Lester (Leicester), the royal Master of the Horse, gave the sign to stop. The queen handed the first prize to the Counts of Ocsenfortt (Oxford) and of Arundel, the latter being the eldest son of the Duke of Nortfech (Norfolk), whom the queen had ordered to be beheaded at St. Katherine's square on a scaffold still standing.¹ The son had for a long time also been in disgrace on account of his father, but he was pardoned and received permission to take part in the tournament. The others got prizes according to their performances, and thus this tournament ended.

The queen has reigned already twenty-six years, and during her reign Parliament has never been held. This year she enters her fifty-third year, as it is said, and she has sent orders through the whole realm to convoke Parliament. The principal cause is, as I am told, that the English do not wish the King of Scotland, who is the next to the throne, to be King of England, and wish to know who after the queen's

¹ Cf. n. 243.

death is to wear the crown. I have forgotten the exact date, but I believe the opening of Parliament took place on November 25. All the streets and lanes in Westminster were well cleaned and strewn with sand when the queen made her entrance into the house, for it is a custom that on the first and last day of the session the king or queen shall be present in the assembly. At the head of the procession rode, two by two, eighteen lords and gentlemen of the court, after them fifteen trumpets, two gentlemen, each with 100 soldiers uniformly clad; now came fifteen members of Parliament in long red cloth coats, lined with white rabbit and reverses of the same almost down to the girdle. Next followed two gentlemen, the first with the queen's mantle, the other with her hat, their horses were led by servants. Now came two heralds, each in a blue mantle with two wings on it of beaten gold bearing the queen's arms, then three pairs of gentlemen of the Parliament in their usual robes, two heralds like those before followed by thirteen gentlemen of the Parliament, counts and barons, like the former, two heralds, seven pairs of bishops in long red robes with broad reverses of white linen and square caps of black stuff on their heads, then came five pairs of gentlemen of the Parliament in long red coats set with four stripes of rabbit fur. Now followed the Chancellor of the realm, behind him the Treasurer and then Secretary in their usual robes, with broad golden collars hanging down in the front and back to the saddle. Followed four men with sceptres, each ornamented with a crown, followed some gentlemen of the Parliament clad like the others. All these, I have mentioned, had gold and silver trappings on their horses, the least valuable being velvet. Followed the huntsmen, about fifty in number, all of noble birth, with small gilt spears. These marched on foot. Now followed a horse, led by a gentleman, the trappings, saddle and bridle all of gold covered with pearls, the latter being set with precious stones. On the forehead an ornament was fixed with one large diamond, and on the ears hung large pearls. Now followed the queen in a half-covered

sedan chair, which looked like a half-covered bed. The chair and the cushions on which the queen was seated were covered with gold and silver cloth. The queen had a long red velvet parliamentary mantle, down to the waist, lined with ermin, white with little black dots, and a crown on her head. The sedan chair was carried by two cream-coloured horses with yellow manes and tails, on the heads and tails yellow and white plumes were fastened, and they had saddles and trappings of golden stuff. Behind the queen another horse was led, having trappings of red velvet fringed with gold and ornamented with plumes. This horse was followed by twenty-four ladies and maidens, riding one after the other, and one in finer dress and her horse better caparisoned than the others. After the ladies came two empty carriages, the one lined with red the other with black velvet, embroidered with gold. On both sides of the queen marched her guard, not in their daily suit, but clad in red cloth, covered with beaten gold. The procession took its way to Westminster Church, where all the kings are buried. Here the queen dismounted, knelt down at the entrance and said her prayers, entered the church, where prayers were offered and chants performed. Then the queen went to the house of Parliament close by, and was led into a separate chamber, on the platform of which was a splendid canopy of golden stuff and velvet, embroidered with gold, silver, and pearls, and below it a throne, arranged with all royal splendours, on which the queen seated herself. The benches in this chamber had their seats as well as the backs covered with red silk, in the midst four woolsacks of red cloth were laid square. The walls were entirely hung with royal tapestry. In front of the woolsacks opposite the door a low bar was fixed right across the chamber, also covered with red silk. On the woolsack nearest to the queen's throne sits the Chancellor, turning his back to the queen, on that to the right hand sit three judges, on that to the left three secretaries. Close to the bar, but outside of it, sit two (writing) clerks, on the benches around to the right side twenty bishops, two

viscounts or peers, one marquis, to the left twenty counts and twenty barons. Thus the sitting of this Parliament begun, they had sittings every day until Christmas, but the queen, as I said before, was present only the first and last day. During the holy feast the sitting was suspended, but afterwards it began again and lasted until Easter, when it was again suspended, though not closed, and was to begin again. Meanwhile I left the country.

As the English are very rich and are fond of pomp and splendour, twenty-four gentlemen made a plan to arrange, in honour to the queen, a tournament, the barrier and benches of the last tournament still existing. December 6 was fixed as the day on which it was to take place. Of these gentlemen who expected to gain the prize twelve were married and twelve were young bachelors. The queen was humbly asked to be present, she did not refuse but made her appearance at the time mentioned. It was a hard struggle ; not however with as much pomp as the latter, but more in earnest, for each party was bent to win the prize. It lasted some hours even after night had fallen, when the queen ordered it to cease, and assigned the prize to the bachelors.

The 27th of December, being the third and last day of Holy Christmas, I went down the Temes (Thames) five miles to *Grunewiz* (Greenwich), because the queen was residing there at this time. When I had reached the palace, I first went to the royal chapel, which is hung with golden cloth, the pulpit is covered with red velvet embroidered with gold, on one side of the chapel high gilt salvers were placed. For the queen there is a separate place made of golden stuff, when she partakes of the holy sacrament. Then I came to a large room before the queen's chamber, hung with tapestry worked in silk and gold. Here I waited until she went to church, which took place in the same way as I have related at *Hanppencortt* (Hampton Court), only that the ladies and gentlemen of the court, it being a festival time, were in more beautiful apparel. The queen was in mourning on account of the death of the Duke of Alanson (Alençon) and Prince of Uranigen (Orange),

and therefore was clad very royally in black velvet with silver and pearls. Over this robe was hung a piece of silver lace, looking transparent and full of little holes, like linen with hollow seams. It had the appearance of being set with fringes, which, however, was not the case. During the time she attended public service, a long table was set in the room under the canopy and covered with gold plate. When the queen left the church, forty dishes, small and large, all silver gilt, were put on the table, and she sat down quite alone by herself. She never during the whole year dines publicly, except on festival days, when strangers may see her dine. At the end of the room close to the door there is a table set for five countesses to take dinner after the queen's dinner is finished. The queen is served at dinner by a very young gentleman in black, who carves ; the drink is handed to her by one in green, almost of the same age, who has to kneel while she drinks. Afterwards he rises again and takes the cup from her. To the right side of the table stand the gentlemen of high rank, as millurtt (milord) Hower (Howard), called chamberlain, in Germany he would be taken for a mareschal, also millurtt Lester (milord Leicester), Master of the Horse, with whom, as they say, the queen for a long time has had illicit intercourse, now he is married ; the treasurer of the State and the count millurtt Herforth (Hertford), who, they say, is the next to the crown in England. He had deflowered one of the queen's ladies, and, against the queen's wish, married another, which brought him into disgrace, but now he had recovered his character ; and Christopher Hatton, the captain of the guard, whom the queen is said to have loved after Lester. They all had white sticks in their hands and were fine old gentlemen. It is the queen's habit to call one of them to her and to converse with him. When she does so, he has to kneel until she orders him to rise. When they leave the queen, they have to bow down deeply, and when they have reached the middle of the room they must bow down a second time. When dinner is served they march before the nobles and gentlemen, bearing the dishes, which this time were only twenty-four. On entering the room

with the dishes, they bow down three times, as well as on spreading the table-cloth and setting the plates, even though the queen should not be present. Four sceptre bearers march before the queen when she goes to dinner. As long as dinner lasts, ladies and gentlemen stand on both sides of the room near those who have the charge of the plate, which is truly of imperial character, but not too near to the royal table. The music during the dinner was very good. When the first dishes were removed and replaced by others, the queen did not remain much longer, but rose from the table. Then the five countesses aforesaid rose from their table, made two very low obeisances to the queen and then stood aside, upon which the queen rose, went to the other side of her table, leaning with her back against it, when two bishops placed themselves before her to say grace. After them came three counts (one of whom was the son of the executed Duke of Nortfack (Norfolk), whom I have mentioned at the tournament), and who brought with them a very large covered basin of silver-gilt like a dish, whilst two of the old gentlemen carried the bowl. On approaching the queen, all five knelt down, took the cover from the basin, and whilst two held the lower part of it, the third with the cover poured the water out for the queen. Before washing, the queen handed a ring to one of the chamberlains mentioned, and afterwards took it again from him. Then she took the son of a count by his mantle and stepped with him to a bow window, where he knelt before her and held a long conversation with her. When he had left her, she took a cushion and sat down on the floor, called another young gentleman, who also knelt down on his knees and spoke with her, after him she called a countess, who knelt down to her in the same manner as the gentlemen. Now dancing began and the ladies and gentlemen took each other by the hands as in Germany.¹ The gentlemen had their hats and caps on, though at other times nobody, high or low, is permitted to keep his hat on his head in the Queen's chamber, whether she be

¹ The Spanish Ambassador, Juan Fernandez de Velasco, gives a description of the dances practised at the court of James I., 1604; cf. Rye, p. 123.

present or not. They danced one behind the other as in Germany, and most of the ladies and gentlemen had gloves on. In the beginning the dance appeared to be in the German fashion, but afterwards it differed from it ; the partners advanced a few paces, stepped back again, separated, changed their places, but in the right moment everybody found his partner again. During the dance they often bowed to each other and the gentlemen took their hats off to the ladies, among whom were indeed some very beautiful persons sumptuously dressed. This dance or dances were performed only by the highest in rank, who had passed youth, but afterwards the young people took off their swords and mantles, and in hoses and jackets invited the ladies to the galliard with them. The queen addressed those who had danced well. When this was over the queen gave a sign to her suite and went to her room. At this moment I left also, took a boat and rowed the five miles back again to London. The queen, as long as the dance lasted, had ordered old and young persons to come and converse with her, who, as I have mentioned, were all obliged to kneel on their knees before her. She talked to them in a very friendly manner, making jokes, and to a captain named *Ral* (Sir Walter Raleigh) she pointed with her finger in his face, saying he had some uncleanness there, which she even intended to wipe off with her handkerchief. He, however, prevented her and took it away himself. It was said that she loved this gentleman now in preference to all others ; and that may be well believed, for two years ago he was scarcely able to keep a single servant, and now she has bestowed so much upon him, that he is able to keep five hundred servants.

In the year 1585, March 2, the queen ordered one of her doctors of law to be executed for having sought after her life, which took place in the following manner. The said doctor had made his studies in Italy, had visited Rome, and sought intercourse with the cardinals. After having made their acquaintance, he had offered to kill the queen, if this would be agreeable to the Pope, because the Queen of England was

not of Popish religion. This pleased the Pope, who, if the doctor succeeded in his scheme, promised him Heaven. Thereupon the doctor, whose name was William Perre (Parr), returned to England, and, being a learned scholar, found access to the queen, who liked him very much. Indeed, as once by the committing of some crime he had forfeited his life, she released him, took him to the court, and bestowed upon him an annuity of 500*l.* (one pound being equal to five rixdalers), which shows that she meant well by him. He, however, was all the time seeking an opportunity to take her life. At last he found a person whom he made a partner of the plot, charging him to give his assistance in effecting his plan. The day having been fixed, the doctor entered the queen's chamber, where she was by herself, with a knife hidden in his sleeve, intending to stab her. The queen, however, when she observed him, asked, 'Doctor, do you know what dream I had this night?' On his replying 'No,' she remarked, 'I dreamed I had a vein opened and lost much blood.' The doctor on hearing this got frightened, thinking she had discovered the plot, and fainted, upon which the queen, who was much attached to him, called for medical help. For she was of opinion that the dream had frightened him so much because he loved her, and for this she esteemed him the more. Having recovered himself, he sought his companion, telling him what had happened, encouraging him at the same time to try whether he could bring the affair to an end. The other promised to do so, but when on entering he saw the queen, he, struck by fear, fell down upon his knees begging forgiveness, and made a full confession. Upon this the doctor was imprisoned and letters from the Pope were found upon him. He confessed all, was imprisoned for a few days and then transported on a slide through the whole town from the Tower to Westminster, where, after being hung on the gallows, he was cut down again and quartered, this being the custom in this country with all criminals who are condemned to be quartered. Some time before eighteen individuals, and among these two women and two boys, were all together

hung on the gallows in this way. They were put on a cart and when the cart was driven on they were left hanging ; but they did not remain there very long. Their friends came, pulled them by the legs, and struck them on the chest, to end their lives the sooner, and when life was gone, they cut them off and buried them. The Doctor's head was fixed on the gate of London Bridge, where about thirty heads of noblemen and gentlemen were fixed who had sought to take the life of the queen. The queen, when she heard this about the doctor, went into the garden, wept aloud, and said she would like to know why so many persons sought her life. She tore open her garment, exposing her breasts, exclaiming that she had no weapon to defend herself, but was only a weak female. She would trust in God Almighty, that He would have mercy upon her.

On March 6 I saw here in London a woman only twenty-eight breadths of the thumb high. She had very short legs, about a span in length ; her steps were not longer than a cock's. She was fifty-three years, and born in a town of Flanders called Dam.

On the 13th I saw a young fellow with red and black spots on his head, resembling a pig.

On April 20, Count Arrendel (Arundel), son of the Duke of Norfech (Norfolk), whom I mentioned before as having taken part in the tournament, was brought to the Tower as a prisoner.¹ I was present when this took place. The cause was, that in order to revenge his father's death, he turned all his property into ready money, intending to abscond himself secretly, for without the queen's permission nobody is allowed to leave the country. His plan was to join the Duke of Gewise (Guise), who had assembled some soldiers, and to look out for an opportunity to avenge his father's death. His brother had already with all the money gained the French soil, but when he himself, disguised in mean garments and with a false passport, was on the point to follow on board of a ship, he was recognised by an official,

¹ Philip, Count of Arundel, died November 10, 1595, in prison.

who searched the vessel. When the queen was informed of this, he was transported to London, as I said before, and I fear he will be badly dealt with. The queen's ships represent a mighty power for the protection of the whole country. They are at anchor at a small town, which by this count's design, it is said, was set on fire, and the plan was, that when the crews of the ships came on shore to assist in putting out the fire and saving life, the ships were also to be set on fire. Resistance from the ships thus being frustrated, he intended to leave France with an army and take possession of England. In England a kind of black horn is found ; if you rub it and hold it against a bit of wood, it will lift the latter. Rings made from it are worn. It is called jethman, the *j* being pronounced like *s*. Rare objects are not to be seen in England, but it is a very fertile country, producing all sorts of corn but no wine. There are plenty of sheep, cows, and various kinds of meat. The peasants and citizens are on the average rich people, not to speak of the gentlemen and noblemen. They are fond of pomp and splendour, both high and low. The value of the estates of the nobility cannot be reduced, for the eldest son inherits all ; the others enter into some office or pursue highway robbery, as they also do in Scotland. The best tin of all Europe is found in the mines. The gentlemen and nobles keep more servants here than I saw in all my life elsewhere, a simple nobleman keeping perhaps twenty servants, but not so many horses as we do in Germany. When a gentleman goes out on horseback his servants follow on foot. The climate is temperate, similar to that in France, not too hot in summer, and the cold in winter is to be endured. Persons of noble birth enter into marriage with those of lower standing and *vice versa*, according to wealth and property. I have seen peasants presenting themselves statelier in manner, and keeping a more sumptuous table than some noblemen do in Germany. That is a poor peasant who has no silver-gilt salt-cellars, silver cups, and spoons.

I was willing to cross over from England to France, in order there to enter military service, but in Holy Easter time

I received letters that the money which I had ordered to be sent here had not come. Having consequently nothing to live upon, I was obliged to take my way homewards. I hired a place on board a Hamburgh vessel, and on April 23, about six o'clock in the evening, went on board in the name of God Almighty. I had taken a boat to row me down the Temes the same way as when I first came to London. We had to row twenty-one miles as far as Gravesend, for the Hamburgh vessel had left for this place already the day before. I arrived at eleven o'clock at night, went to an inn and stopped there for the night.

On the 24th I went on board, for the skipper intended to set sail. All ships are visited here before they are allowed to start, and as I was accompanied by a negro Moor whom I intended to take with me, the officer would not allow the skipper to take the negro on board, for he had no passport. I was obliged to go on land, thinking that I should have to return to London for the passport. My host, however, went with me to the burgmaster and the constable, who gave me permission to take him with me. I hired a boat for four shillings, or one taler, and rowed quickly down the Temes meaning to reach the Hamburgh vessel, which had left meanwhile. Twenty miles beyond Gravesend, however, I met an English vessel, which informed me that the Hamburgh vessel (it was a boyart) was already at sea. This obliged me to go back again to Gravesend and to spend a very cold night in going the twenty miles to and fro. I reached Gravesend at sunrise, the 25th. Here is a castle on each side of the Temes and they can shoot from one to the other. Here I lay, waiting for wind and weather until the 28th, when I again bargained with a Hamburgh ship, that was to take me and the Moor there for two angelots. After having bought provisions, I went on board the same evening and stopped there for the night.

On the 29th we sailed at about nine o'clock, but in the afternoon we cast anchor, for it was very dangerous here on account of invisible sandbanks. However, the anchor broke

on account of the storm we had, and we were obliged to continue sailing until dark, when we cast anchor the second time and stopped there for the night. We were still in English water.

The 30th we continued sailing by south-west wind, which is the most favourable wind. About midday we were so much advanced, that we had left England entirely and were in the open sea. Now the calculation by English miles ceases and the German miles begin. This day and the following night we had good wind.

During next day (being May 1) and the night after we had south wind, which served us only half. Early in the next morning we had come so far that Holland and Friesland were already passed. We saw *Nugwarck* (*Neuwerk*) and *Rizbeutel* (*Rizebuttel*), belonging to Hamburg, and separated from each other by an arm of the sea. To our left we had *Holy Land* (*Heligoland*), a small island belonging to the Duke Adelof of Holzen. I have mentioned this island before, when leaving Hamburg last year. About an hour afterwards we were in the river Elbe, but wind and tide being unfavourable, we went on shore a mile under Stade, in the district of *Kedin* (*Kedingen*), at our right hand side, and drank Hamburg beer. This country belongs to the Bishop of Bremen, and they say the inhabitants are all of noble birth, which I do believe indeed, for all persons I saw, males as well as females, had a noble demeanour.

In the evening we went again on board, hoisted sail about ten o'clock at night and advanced two miles, when the wind again fell and we cast again anchor in Oldenland. To-day news came that the Duke Henry of Saxony, Bishop of Bremen, had died in God, and was to be buried to-morrow.

On the 3rd at eight o'clock the wind rose, we set sail and reached Hamburg. God be praised for His grace and assistance.

THE PROGRESS OF HISTORICAL RESEARCH

IN a former notice of the recent progress of historical research in this country reference was gladly made to the support and encouragement given by successive sovereigns, parliaments, ministries, and departmental offices to the cause of that research, while the still larger debt of gratitude which we owe to the providence of recent administrations for an establishment and endowments which have preserved, restored, arranged, and to some extent published the unequalled collection of Public Records and State Papers, together with other invaluable collections in private custody, was very gratefully acknowledged. It is indeed to societies like our own that such a national work is of the first importance. In the present day the larger share of the burthen of preparing exact and scholarly texts of the more important historical records is borne by learned societies or by some such fraternities of private subscribers; and the interest and efficiency of all these productions must largely depend on the accessibility of the records themselves and on the care which has been bestowed upon their preservation and intelligent arrangement.

Every year the number of these societies is increased. The race of the old Camden Society is not yet run, and it has survived to see the work with which it once coped almost alone carried on by many young and willing hands. The Pipe Roll Society, the Selden Society, and the Navy Records Society are excellent specimens of this new and vigorous growth, and the work of the metropolitan societies is being constantly assisted by those which flourish in so many English counties. Some, like the Yorkshire and Surrey Archæological Societies,

wisely attach the first importance to the series of county subsidies, fines, and other solid matters that may be delved from amongst the Public Records. Others, like the new Worcester Historical Society, publish local muniments. In any case we can point to an increasing provincial interest in historical research which naturally follows the outlines of the ancient Saxon shires. It is not perhaps too much to augur from this good beginning that in the near future every county will maintain an efficient historical society as a matter of the highest local concern, just as it maintains a county cricket club or volunteer corps. Possibly this enterprise would prove as cheap in the long run as subscribing to the publication of many worthless county histories. But even in this direction reforms have taken place, thanks to this same spirit of local interest and co-operation, and the new history of Northumberland, so ably edited by Mr. Bateson, should, and indeed must, serve as a model for all similar undertakings.

Again the returns of a year's work at the Record Office and British Museum furnish most interesting and instructive reading. The national archives, it would seem, have been extensively consulted by historical students, since more than 50,000 applications for Records and State Papers have been registered during the past year. From the same department a long list of important historical guide-books has again been issued : calendars, chronicles, lists, indexes, and reports, all of which are welcome landmarks in the wilderness of musty parchments—landmarks without which few students could pursue original researches with any profit. Here we have calendars of mediæval records such as patent rolls and close rolls containing the State Papers of the king's chancery from the reign of Edward I. to that of Edward IV. In other calendars thousands upon thousands of ancient deeds and royal letters have been arranged, and the contents of each minutely described, whilst the indexes alone of these laborious and scholarly productions must prove of invaluable service to the whole body of historians, genealogists, and topographers in this and foreign countries. Then there are the still better

known calendars of modern State Papers, of the reigns of Henry VIII., Charles II., and William III., which will complete the great series that extends from the beginning of the sixteenth to the close of the seventeenth century, works which have affected historical literature more deeply than can easily be realised in this generation. The Rolls Series of mediæval chronicles and memorials has produced a few last volumes, but the Historical Manuscripts Commission is fortunately still in a position to issue numerous valuable appendices, including recent reports on such important collections as the Rutland, Portland, Charlemont, Kenyon, Fortescue, and Ormonde MSS., together with further instalments of the Hatfield and House of Lords papers.

In addition to the work which has been thus briefly summarised we must remember that the Record establishments of Ireland and Scotland have been likewise actively engaged, according to their means, while there is now some prospect of a special provision being made to satisfy the wants of Welsh scholars, a scheme which, on topographical and philological grounds, would seem very desirable.

The British Museum has done much for the convenience of students by constant revision of the catalogues of printed books, as well as by the further arrangement of its invaluable historical MSS., to which several important additions have been made by judicious purchases. The splendid series of illustrative manuscripts exhibited or published in facsimile may be regarded as of even greater importance, since it is very desirable that the existence and nature of original manuscripts should be more widely known. It is only by a very gradual process of education that the great body of English readers will be made to understand that printing the errors of one book in another is not writing history.

It is pleasant to find that the importance of historical research is fully recognised in most of our great colonies. The Governments of Canada, New South Wales, and South Africa have sanctioned an outlay upon transcripts of State Papers relating to their respective colonies which is pro-

portionately larger than that made by any modern State. The colonial history of this country is indeed unique, and it is some satisfaction that the archives in which this history is contained are being thus thoroughly explored by colonial and American students. America, of course, leads the way in the publication of the colonial documents which relate to the early history of the plantations. This is the chosen work of the many admirable historical societies in the several States, but it is chiefly based upon the official Calendar, and unfortunately the historical materials for the Revolutionary period have not been very closely or very intelligently explored. Mr. B. F. Stevens has, however, done much to repair this defect in the magnificent series of 'Facsimiles' of the most important historical papers of the period. Indeed, the time is at hand when photography will supersede all other attempts to imitate the caligraphy of early manuscripts, leaving the historian in search of materials to choose between an exact reproduction or a skilled and not merely mechanical transcription.

It is useless to spend hundreds and thousands of pounds (as we have done, and in some cases are still doing) on the publication of historical texts the editors of which possess the most imperfect knowledge of palæography. The result is seen in an ignorance of the best MSS., in wrong extensions of names and places, and in many topographical and philological absurdities. Now the best French scholars have strenuously insisted on the necessity, failing a facsimile, of a *transcription diplomatique* of historical MSS., which means that, instead of imitating the caligraphy of the original by various clumsy typographical devices, at the same time that the identification of persons and places is left more or less to chance, the editor must interpret the cipher of the scribe by means of the most approved methods of historical, genealogical, topographical, and philological learning. The attention of the Fellows of the Royal Historical Society is called to this subject, because it is one which will inevitably attract much notice during the next few years. The good work of the

Public Record Office and of the British Museum in this direction is becoming widely recognised, and of late there has been much talk of the necessity for an *école des chartes* in this country. At the same time it must be remembered that we have in England no need for a State training-school for curators of Departmental Archives, though for the convenience of historical students at large such an institution established at South Kensington or at Cambridge would certainly receive a very hearty welcome as well as substantial support. Another sign of the times is seen in the recent publication in this country of at least three or four palæographical works, although these cannot be compared with the great manuals of French and German scholars, or with Mr. Trice Martin's standard edition of Wright's 'Court Hand' and the excellent 'Record Interpreter' recently issued by the same author.

Naturally there have been many works of research published in this country other than those for which the enterprise of the Government or of the learned societies is primarily responsible. The Clarendon and Pitt Presses at Oxford and Cambridge continue to do good service in this direction, and the new series of historical handbooks published by the latter is particularly good. In mediæval history, such books as Mr. Round's 'Feudal England' and M. Jusserand's 'Les Anglais au Moyen Age' are remarkable for their originality and suggestiveness, while the history of English law, and with it the whole fabric of the Constitution, is illuminated by the great work of Sir Frederick Pollock and Professor Maitland. We toil in vain behind the learned industry of our modern Selden.

For the history of Wales two most valuable works are found in Mr. Seebohm's 'Tribal System' and Mr. Evans's edition of the famous 'Liber Landavensis,' the latter of which is also a masterpiece of the palæographic art. Mr. Wylie's important 'History of the Reign of Henry IV.' is continued, and in the next century we join with foreign writers in discoursing of such individualities as Anne Boleyn,

Cardinal Pole, and Mary Stuart ; but the most notable works in this period, outside of Messrs. Gairdner and Brodie's 'Calendar,' are found in the histories of Father Gasquet and Dr. Busch, together with the very valuable and admirable collection of constitutional documents illustrative of the reigns of Elizabeth and James I. published by Professor Prothero. In the seventeenth century Dr. Gardiner and Mr. Firth still hold the field, but Lady Verney's family 'Memoirs,' Lord Edmond Fitzmaurice's 'Life of Sir William Petty,' and the admirable edition of Pepys published by Messrs. Bell are deserving of much praise.

English historians have never appeared to much advantage in dealing with the history of the eighteenth century, and of the progress of historical research in this department during the last two years, failing Mr. Lecky and the late Sir John Seeley, the less said the better ; for in the multitude of memoirs and handbooks there is little wisdom ; but for the constitutional law of the beginning of our own times Mr. Wallis's edition of the 'State Trials' is a really admirable work. Far otherwise is it with such excellent works as have resulted from careful co-operation, the Dictionaries of 'National Biography,' of 'Economic History,' and of the English language, together with Messrs. Cassell's 'Social England.'

The economic section has been especially distinguished of late years by both the number and quality of its published works. A new edition of Dr. Cunningham's great 'History of Industry and Commerce' is on the point of appearing, whilst a concise handbook to the 'Outlines of Economic History,' by the same author and Miss MacArthur, will meet a long-felt want. Mr. Shaw's 'History of Currency' is a controversial work which has excited considerable attention.

In military and naval history, again, English students have been eminently successful by the mere force of patient research. Colonel Davis's exhaustive history of the Queen's Regiment ('Kirke's Lambs') has served as a model for other military monographs. Certainly there is nothing like it in the historical literature of any country, except the history of

the Honourable Artillery Company by Colonel Raikes. These pioneers have paved the way for other praiseworthy compilations, while it is needless to praise whatever Professor Laughton has contributed to naval history, or to commend the more recent work of Mr. Oppenheim. In a still earlier period, Mr. Marsden has edited with rare learning, for the Selden Society, a collection of records of the old Admiralty Court.

Geographical and topographical researches are always helpful to the practical historian. In the former Mr. Raymond Beazley's '*Prince Henry the Navigator*' aims at giving an account of the progress of geographical knowledge and enterprise in Christendom throughout the Middle Ages. In other words, it has successfully attempted to treat exploration as one continuous thread in the story of Christian Europe, and to treat the life of Prince Henry the Navigator as the central point in a development of many centuries.

Two interesting books have recently appeared on Vespucci, both published by Mr. B. F. Stevens, who has also been instrumental in giving to the historical world a sumptuous text of the official instructions of Christopher Columbus, which has been justly admired.

Under the heads of general and miscellaneous historical literature it is scarcely possible in a very few words to do justice to several interesting works. Mr. Frederic Harrison, in his charming volume of essays, has brought the Meaning of History home to the most unphilosophical mind, and Lord Acton's Cambridge address on the Study of History will appeal to every lover of good books. Mr. H. E. Malden's '*English Records*' is a handbook to English history which must prove of real service to a great majority of younger students, and the military portion of Mr. Oman's outline '*History of England*' is, of course, as valuable as the whole is ably written. There have been further researches in Indian history, and all that appears under the names of Messrs. Forrest and Danvers flows from the fountain-head of original records. It is

pleasant, too, to notice some excellent researches by native scholars, such as those of P. Sundram Pillai, of Travancore. Mr. Bonwick's 'Irish Druids and Religions' may be mentioned as a good type of several recent works on the ancient Irish civilisation, and, coming nearer home, Dr. Sharpe's 'London and the Kingdom' contains priceless gleanings from the Corporation records at the Guildhall.

It will be seen, therefore, that, on the whole, the study of history continues to receive increased attention in this country, though it can scarcely be said to proceed exclusively through the narrow channel of original research.

In the meantime a different state of things exists on the Continent, at least so far as France and Germany are concerned. Individualism in historical literature has suffered, it is true, as with us, by the increasing scope and importance of periodical and co-operative publications, but the compensation offered by these last is a very substantial one. In Germany since the 'Historische Zeitschrift' was founded by Von Sybel in 1856 the list of year-books, archives, journals, and other magazines dealing more or less directly with historical subjects increases every year, and the aggregate contribution made by these periodicals to the cause of historical research becomes every year more considerable. France, besides the journals of numerous first-rate societies, possesses in the 'Revue Historique' an organ which is not surpassed by any other historical periodical in Europe. On a smaller scale Belgium, the Netherlands, Italy, Russia, Spain, and other States produce periodicals and maintain societies devoted to the scientific study of history to a degree which we in this country have not as yet approached.

But this is not nearly all that our Continental neighbours do for the improvement of historical studies. Apart from the special attention given to history as a general subject in colleges and schools, research is endowed, as it were, for riper students by the conferment of a degree which is usually of much professional importance to the aspirants, and in the same connection by the offer of public prizes on the most

liberal scale. Of course the importance of these measures lies in the fact that the doctor's thesis, like the prize-man's essay, is merely a vehicle for promoting research, and that of a solid and scientific character. They swarm over the Continent, these busy, eager students, each one deeply impressed with the importance and dignity of his subject. They explore the archives of every city for 'inedited documents,' and carry back with them to their hives of learning a rich store of historical material which they will mould into the shape of a neat *brochure* lucidly arranged and faultlessly printed. We need only inspect the official lists of prize subjects adjudicated by the French Academy to gather the nature of the research that is being carried on at our very doors.

A characteristic prize is that offered by the Société des Etudes Historiques, being the Raymond prize for 1896. The subject is the seignorial franchises on the eve of the French Revolution, candidates being expected to select individual districts and to pursue their researches amongst local archives and family papers. In this way a really valuable series of historical monographs may be collected, which should prove of immense service to the Glassons, the De Coulanges, and the Von Sybels of the future.

There is also the useful custom, promoted by the newspaper press, of offering prizes for the best essays sent in on a given subject. These, of course, have a slighter value, but it is curious to find that Jewish scholars who have contributed so largely to the learned reputation of the country are debarred from competing in Germany.

Passing to the subject of co-operation, we find many admirable and successful examples throughout the Continent, the best known being the great historical series of *scriptores* in almost every country, well-known examples being found in the 'Monumenta Germaniae' and 'Scriptores Rerum Gallicarum.' These and others like them are indeed national works, though not in the sense of our own Rolls Series. Abroad the printer's bill can be paid by others than the State

or some wealthy corporation, though a really valuable form of State aid has been recently seen in the joint scheme for the publication of the Gascon rolls of the English Chancery for the information of students of both countries, a work which, under the very able editorship of M. Chas. Bémont, promises to be one of the most important publications of the coming session. Then there is the co-operation by means of which such a vast work as MM. Lavisé and Rambaud's 'General History' can be produced. The fourth and fifth volumes of this admirable work have lately appeared, the former extending from about the year 1455 to about the close of the following century, and to the making of this one volume no fewer than twenty-two specialists have contributed. But co-operation of this sort is not, as we have seen, a speciality of France or of Germany.

The secret of the successful study of history in these countries probably lies in the fact that French and German scholars regard history as a science and not merely as a branch of literature or as the handmaiden of politics. In short, it is regarded as a subject requiring a great deal of technical knowledge. It is in the *technique* of historical scholarship that foreign scholars excel. For instance, if we admit that it is needful to collect materials of some sort previous to attempting an historical work, and admitting further that such materials are commonly of two kinds—namely, printed books and manuscripts—it can easily be imagined that the mere discovery of materials, quite apart from the method of using them, demands a considerable amount of technical experience. Thus there is the bibliography of the subject, in which the Germans show such wonderful skill, and then, again, there is the palaeography, in which the French on the whole keep the field against all comers, thanks to the admirable training ground of the École des Chartes. For it is not merely necessary to find our MS. and to be able to understand its contents, we must know also the whole *diplomatique* of its construction, its affinities and antecedents amongst manuscripts, and its con-

sequent value as a credible authority. If we study attentively two such works as Giry's 'Manuel de Diplomatique' and Bresslau's 'Handbuch der Urkundenlehre' we may well be amazed, if not discouraged, at the magnitude of the task that here lies before us. And yet the labour would be well repaid. We have seen that the editions of MSS. and records in this country leave much to be desired in respect of the extension of names, the identification of places, and the *description diplomatique* generally. But this is not the case in the publications of modern France and Germany at least.

Again, we find in the work of Continental students evidence of careful research amongst original sources of information that is quite remarkable. And this research is immensely assisted by the admirable catalogues and inventories which pour from the press—*inventaires sommaires* of various archives, departmental, municipal, communal, or ecclesiastical; philological and topographical dictionaries, local histories, and such like. Certainly there has appeared in France during recent years a crude and ill-digested mass of original information in the shape of *mémoires* and *souvenirs historiques*, dealing, for the most part, with the Revolutionary, Napoleonic, and Restoration periods, but these sensational revelations have no claim to rank with the best historical publications of trained scholars.

The excellence of the French palæographers has already been referred to, and many phrases of historical scholarship are included under this head—topography, genealogy, and philology more especially. It is difficult to distinguish among so many admirable works in which the sources of French history are set forth by undoubted experts. The mere enumeration of those published during the last two or three years would fill a considerable space, but they do not by any means represent the historical work that has been done during this period. The French are also specialists in diplomatic history, and veteran writers like the Duc de Broglie and Count Boulay de la Meurthe have been reinforced by others like M. Richard Waddington, whose

important work on the causes of the Seven Years' War has been lately ushered in by two articles in the 'Revue Historique.' M. de la Ferrière has made use of original State Papers for a somewhat unsympathetic version of the love stories of Anne Boleyn and Queen Elizabeth; but it is worth noting that for the Tudor period Father Gasquet's great work has been translated into French, as that of Dr. Busch has been translated into English. In France, too, several important works have been continued. M. Glasson has dealt with the feudal system in his fifth and sixth volumes, and M. Chuquet continues his vast history of the wars of the French Revolution. There are also other military and naval histories of importance, notably Comte Weil's history of the campaign of 1814, while a monograph of the war in La Vendée is published at Berlin, and M. Spont's sketches of the French marine and finance under Charles VIII. and Francis I. are not only original and interesting, but have procured for the author a mission to edit one of the forthcoming volumes of the English 'Navy Records Society.' In military and naval history, however, the best work has usually been done in England, and in the department of economic French history the French school is naturally not much to the fore, though two tolerable works have appeared, one on the rural economy of Henry IV.'s reign, by M. Fagniez, and a History of Prices from 1200 to 1800 by the Comte d'Avenel, together with a translation of a valuable Russian treatise on the French corn trade in the eighteenth century.

For the rest we are still indebted to the sound works of M. Gabriel Monod, of MM. Langlois and Stern, and to the scholarship that sparkles in M. Paul Meyer's edition of the Anglo-French epic of 'Guillaume le Maréchal.' French writers have their partialities, like those of other nations, and the true Jeanne d'Arc, the true (but unlovely) Napoleon, with other heroes and heroines of the national history, continue to exact more attention than perhaps their merely personal importance deserves.

In the same way German historians have a weakness for

Frederick the Great, and for court scandal of about the time of Frederick William III.; Austria has her Maria Theresa, whilst English writers delight to differ about Queen Elizabeth and to agree about the true story of Waterloo. Even in progressive America the legend of Christopher Columbus is not quite forgotten, and the memories of Benjamin Franklin and George Washington are held in kindly remembrance.

In all matters historical we naturally look to Germany for help, if not for guidance. Possibly this is because German scholars, possessing comparatively few native mines of historical material, have busied themselves largely with the sources of history in other countries, and nowhere more skilfully or with greater success than with our own. The Germans, too, are the chief exponents of the very difficult art of writing universal histories, whilst they hold their own in ecclesiastical history, and are by far our most valuable allies in the economic section. But perhaps the influence of the German school is felt most strongly in the departments of historical teaching and historical criticism, which have such a practical bearing upon the study of history at large. Reference has already been made to the minute accuracy of German bibliographies and periodical surveys. These constitute, as it were, an exact register of the world's historical literature, and when we add to this that the manuscript sources which exist in every country (particularly in England and Italy, which are backward in the knowledge and use of their own treasures) are also explored, noted, and classified for convenient reference, the importance of observing the German system of research will be easily recognised.

It is rarely that German historians are not occupied with some period or other of English history. It is well known what a debt we owe to Reinhold Pauli, to Leopold von Ranke, to Rudolf Gneist, and in a less degree to Heinrich von Sybel and to Wilhelm Oncken. These mighty workers are no longer with us, but their places have been filled. The deep researches of Dr. Liebermann into the very origins of our constitutional history have frequently been mentioned in these pages, and

quite recently another forerunner of his great work has appeared in the shape of a revised text of King Cnut's Forest Laws, prefaced by an instructive treatise on the history of the Mediæval Forest; whilst yet another is preparing on the Laws of the Confessor. Dr. Busch's work on the early Tudors has been alluded to before, and it is enough to say that it is of the first importance. Dr. F. Salomon is another worker who has followed a good sketch of party politics at the close of Queen Anne's reign with an English view of the Polish Partition, and with collections from English archives for a most important chapter of English history. There are others besides these, and we know how much interest is taken in English affairs by the famous school of Economic History at Leipzig. It is to be regretted that we do not repay this interest by publishing translations of some most important works. Lamprecht alone would probably exert nearly as great an influence over English students as Fustel de Coulanges. In this connection it is interesting to note a hopeful scheme for the publication at Oxford of a revised edition of Potthast's great *Regesta* of the sources for mediæval history. A new edition of Gardiner and Mullinger's historical bibliography has also been called for, but it would be well to recognise at the same time the absolute necessity for a revision and an extension of the late Sir Thomas Hardy's descriptive catalogue of historical MSS., which has been abandoned in the Rolls Series, and must now await some scheme of co-operation.

But to return to Germany: it will be readily seen from an inspection of bibliographical lists that the deepest interest is taken in the history of the Papal and Imperial relations during the Middle Ages. The subject is not a new one, and it has proved capable of a very large extension. Perhaps, indeed, just now, though economic history claims more numerous votaries, ecclesiastical history is the strong point of the German school. There is a flourishing Prussian institute at Rome, on the model of the Ecole Française, and researches at the Vatican yield a rich harvest. Again, there are series

like the 'Monumenta Germaniæ,' which publish texts of ecclesiastical *scriptores*, and compilations like Böhmer's 'Regesta Imperii.' These are supplemented by the labours of scholars like Mommsen and Harnack. Then there are the numerous monographs of the religious wars in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries ; and, finally, the subject is brought still nearer home by the works of the theologians.

In the study of legal history we owe much to German writers, and especially to Dr. Brunner ; and we owe still more to the great philologists who help to make the readings of our manuscripts intelligible.

In Italy there has been a great outburst of Tasso literature, and the political surroundings of the great poet have been discussed as freely as those of Dante. Professor Villari continues his useful labours on Florentine history, and good work has been done on the history of Savoy. Professor Bonghi and Count Ugo Balzani are again to the fore ; but the chief interest in historical research in Italy is connected with the progress of the national record series, and the general taste for research which produces so many works 'con documenti inediti.'

The Gibbon Commemoration, held last year under the auspices of this Society, brought English and Italian scholars into pleasant intercourse ; and we owe much also to the scholarly labours of Dr. Hodgkin and in a less degree to the excellent little outline history written by Miss Sewell.

Spain should be mentioned in much the same connection as Italy, for are not the archives of Simancas almost as precious to the English and Americans as are the Vatican registers to Germany and France ? But, like Italy, Spain happily possesses native academies and societies of real merit, and her recent researches in old colonial history are especially meritorious.

Russia would seem to a casual onlooker to be somewhat remote from the historical interests of Western Europe. This, however, is far from being the case. Whether in the department of mediæval records or in the wider field of diplomatic history, Russian scholars are well to the front, and the publi-

cations of their great historical societies may be left to speak for themselves.

Even in Roumania there has been quite lately a remarkable outburst of historical inquiry, and the archives of England, France, and Germany have been made to yield a surprising quantity of materials for early Rouman history. In Switzerland the State archives of Berne have become a depository for a unique collection of transcripts, comprising all the notices of Swiss history that may be found in foreign archives, and a new historical society has been founded on the German model. Belgium and the Netherlands possess some valuable archives, with very capable scholars to direct the use of their contents. For the history of the Netherlands during the sixteenth century there have appeared, as usual, several excellent works, and the tendency of modern research in these countries is towards the methods of the French and German schools. Their historical societies, also, are particularly flourishing, and it is worth noting that in Holland steps have been taken to ensure the recognition of military history as a special branch of historical study. In the Scandinavian kingdoms Sweden has produced some valuable works, chiefly on the times of Charles X. and Charles XII., together with the later foreign relations of Sweden during the Napoleonic wars. The Danes write little that does not immediately concern their own history, but this in a scholarly fashion. Just now, owing to the political relations of Sweden and Norway, the events of the year 1814 excite especial interest, and seem to be capable of producing as much diversity of opinion as the history of the Irish Union does amongst ourselves.

On all sides, then, the outlook is very promising, and in every direction the progress of historical research, though inevitably slow, is sure.

When all have contributed something towards this good result it is not too much to hope that all will profit equally, and that the seeds of a scholarly intercourse have been sown, which will ripen in due season to a still richer harvest for the commonweal of history.

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PROTHERO, Professor GEORGE WALTER, Litt.D., 50 Palmerston Place, Edinburgh.

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Raikes, Lt.-Colonel G. A., F.S.A., 63 Beisize Park, Hampstead, N.W.

Rama Krishna, T., B.A., Thottakkann House, Poonamalli Road, Madras.

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Ranger, Henry.

Rannie, David Watson, Conheath, Dumfries, N.B.

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Reform Club, Pall Mall, S.W.

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 Raj Sabha of Meywar, Oodeypore, India.
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 Brown & Co., 28 St. Mary Axe, E.C.
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II

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 Stockdale, Thomas, Spring Lea, Leeds.
 Stone, J. H., Presidency College, Madras, India.
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 Wood, William, Exton House, 173 Choumert Road, East Dulwich, S.E.
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 Wright, W. H. K., Free Library, Plymouth.
 Wurtzburg, John Henry, Clavering House, 2 De Gray Road, Leeds.
 Wyatt-Davies, Ernest, B.A., Trinity College, Cambridge.
 Wyles, Thomas, F.G.S., The College, Buxton.
- Yates, James, Public Library, Leeds.
 York, His Grace the Archbishop of, Bishopthorpe, York.
 Young, Miss Ernestine C., High School for Girls, 5 Portland Place, Bath.
 Young, Herbert Edward, White Hart Street, High Wycombe, Bucks.

Zerffi, Henry Charles, 14 Randolph Crescent, Maida Vale, W.

The Council request that any inaccuracy in the foregoing list may be pointed out to the Hon. Secretary, and that all changes of address may be notified to him, so that delay in forwarding communications and the Publications of the Society may be avoided.

FOREIGN ASSOCIATIONS
WHICH EXCHANGE TRANSACTIONS WITH THE SOCIETY.

AUSTRALIA.

The Royal Society of New South Wales.

AUSTRIA.

The Imperial Academy of Sciences, Vienna.

BELGIUM.

Académie royale des Sciences des Lettres et des Beaux-Arts, Palais des Académies, Brussels.
Société d'Archéologie de Bruxelles, 11 Rue Ravenstein, Bruxelles.

BOHEMIA.

The Royal Society of Bohemia, Prague.

CANADA.

L'Institut Canadien-français d'Ottawa.
Geological and Natural History Survey Museum, Ottawa.
The Literary and Historical Society, Quebec.

DENMARK.

The Royal Society of Northern Antiquaries, Copenhagen.

FRANCE.

Société d'Ethnographie, 28 Rue Mazarine, Paris,

GERMANY.

The Historical Society of Berlin.

ITALY.

The State Archives of Tuscany.
British and American Archaeological Society of Rome, 20 Via S. Basilio,
Rome.

PORTUGAL.

The Royal Academy of Sciences, Lisbon.

RUSSIA.

The Imperial Archaeological Society, St. Petersburg.

FOREIGN ASSOCIATIONS.

SPAIN.

The Royal Historical Society, Madrid.
The National Archæological Society, Madrid.

SWEDEN.

The Royal Society of Antiquaries of Sweden, Stockholm.
The Royal Academy of Belles-Lettres, History, and Antiquities, Stockholm.

TASMANIA.

The Royal Society of Tasmania.

UNITED STATES.

The Smithsonian Institution, Washington.
The Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore.
New England Historic-Genealogical Society, Boston, Mass.
The Historical Society of New York, 170 Second Avenue, New York.
The Historical Society of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia.
The Academy of Arts and Sciences, New Haven, Connecticut.
The Georgia Historical Society, Savannah, Georgia.
The Massachusetts Historical Society, Boston.
The Historical Society of Rhode Island, Providence, R.I.
The Historical Society of Virginia, Richmond.
The Historical Society of Maryland, Baltimore.
The Historical Society of Missouri, St. Louis, Mo.
The Historical Society of Minnesota, St. Paul, Minnesota.
The Historical Society of South Carolina.
The Historical Society of Vermont.
The Historical Society of Michigan.
The Historical Society of New Jersey.
The Historical Society of Maine.
Peabody Institute, Baltimore, U.S.A., care of E. G. Allen,
28 Henrietta Street, Covent Garden.

LIBRARIES TO WHICH THE SOCIETY'S TRANSACTIONS
ARE PRESENTED.

Mason Science College, Birmingham.
South Kensington Museum.
Royal Institution, Albemarle Street, W.
Chetham's Library, Hunt's Bank, Manchester.
Imperial Institute, Imperial Institute Road, S.W.

Royal Historical Society,

115 ST. MARTIN'S LANE, W.C.:

January 15, 1895.

REPORT OF THE COUNCIL.

SESSION 1893-94.

THE Council of the Royal Historical Society present to the General Meeting of the Fellows their Annual Report. The President delivered his Annual Address at the Anniversary Meeting, February 15, and the following Papers and Communications were read and discussed at the ordinary meetings of the Society during the past Session :—

- ‘The Text of Henry I.’s Coronation Charter.’ By F. Liebermann, Corresponding Member of the R. Hist. S.
- ‘Educational Organisation of the Mendicant Friars in England (Dominicans and Franciscans).’ By A. G. Little, M.A.
- ‘Antonio Perez in Exile.’ By Major Martin A. S. Hume, F.R. Hist. S. Editor of the Calendar of State Papers of Elizabeth (Spanish).
- ‘The Colonial Empire of the Portuguese to the death of Albuquerque.’ By C. Raymond Beazley, M.A.
- ‘The Earldoms under Edward I.’ By Professor T. F. Tout, M.A.
- ‘The Case of Lucas and Lisle.’ By J. H. Round, M.A.
- ‘The Principal Causes of the Renewal of the War between England and France in 1803.’ By Waldemar Ekedahl.
- ‘An Account of the Proceedings in Suffolk during the Peasants’ Rising in 1381.’ By Edgar Powell, B.A. Introduction; Appendix.
- ‘The Inquisition of 1517. Inclosures and Evictions.’ Edited from the Lansdowne MS., I. 153. By I. S. Leadam, M.A. Part 3, London and suburbs; Berkshire; Gloucestershire; Cambridgeshire; Shropshire.

For the first time in the history of the Society all of the above Papers and Communications were printed in the volume of Transactions, which is now issued annually to the Fellows. Dr. Liebermann's important text of the Coronation Charter of Henry I., a document which forms the textual basis of the Great Charter of Liberties itself, was specially prepared by the author for the Transactions of the Society, and is one of the few works of modern historical research originally published and written in England and in English by a German scholar.

Four of the other papers—namely, those contributed by Messrs. Little, Hume, Beazley and Professor Tout—deal with subjects in connection with which the authors are well-known specialists. A paper on the causes of the rupture of the Peace of Amiens introduces to English students a young Swedish historian who is engaged on an important work on the same period, in connection with which he has explored our national archives, and has acknowledged his obligations to one of this Society's publications from the State Papers deposited there. With the concluding instalment of Mr. Leadam's analysis of the Tudor Survey of 1517, the value of the entire work became so apparent that the Council has decided to invite Mr. Leadam to edit the entire survey from the original MSS. discovered by him at the Record Office, and this edition is now almost completed for Press, the whole of the survey preserved in the Chancery Returns having been transcribed for this purpose at the expense of the Society. As a record of Agricultural Holdings and economic changes at the momentous epoch of the English Reformation, and as an index of families and places in the early part of the Tudor period, this great survey may almost be compared with the Domesday Book of the eleventh century.

In addition to this publication, the Volumes of Secret Service Papers under George III., and of State Papers relating to the wars of the third coalition against Napoleon, referred to in the last Report of the Council, are still in progress, and it is confidently expected that at least two volumes of publications will be issued to the Fellows during the session. Other volumes will be

sanctioned and prepared with as little delay as possible, now that arrangements have been made for devoting the larger part of the revenues of the Society to this purpose.

THE SOCIETY'S LIBRARY AT 115 ST. MARTIN'S LANE.

The Librarian reported that 263 books and pamphlets have been added to the Library during the year ended October 31, 1894, bringing the number of books in the Library up to 2,914.

Of the additions, 19 volumes were by purchase (subscription), and the rest—182 volumes and 62 pamphlets—were presented. The most important of the donations were the publications of the Russian Imperial Historical Society, and the Records of the town of Providence, Rhode Island, U.S.A.

In obtaining the first the Society were much indebted to H.M. Foreign Office ; and regarding the second it may be noted that only one other copy has been sent to this country by the Record Commissioners, viz. to the British Museum.

The Librarian would be glad to record a larger list of gifts from members of the Society of their own books than it has yet been his pleasure to announce.

The Council again append to their Report a prospectus of the objects of the Society, with other official information.

The following list shows the number of Fellows on the Roll :

Ordinary Fellows	389
Life do.	94
Ex-officio do.	1
Honorary do.	55
Corresponding Members	25
Total	564

Mr. Frederic Harrison has been elected a Life Fellow and Vice-President of the Society. Professor G. W. Prothero has been elected a Fellow, and Professors F. W. Maitland and T. F. Tout have been nominated to the Council of the Society.

Amongst the deaths of Fellows of the Society notified during the past session, the Council received with regret that of Professor J. A. Froude, who was recently elected a Life Fellow. The Council also regret to report the sudden death of the late Secretary of the Society, Mr. P. E. Dove, at the beginning of the present session. After careful consideration, and on the report of a joint committee of all its standing committees, the Council decided to nominate the Director of the Society, Mr. Hubert Hall, as Director and Hon. Secretary, and the Librarian, Mr. Thomas Mason, as Librarian and Clerk. Arrangements have also been made by which the clerical work of the Society will be conducted on a new and improved system, and the very considerable saving that has been effected in the list of salaries by means of this re-organisation will, it is hoped, enable the Society to undertake the publication of more historical works in the immediate future.

The Council append the Treasurer's statement of the financial position of the Society from November 1, 1893, to October 31, 1894.

BALANCE SHEET.

For the year ending October 31, 1894.

R. HOVENDEN, Treasurer.

We have compared the entries in the books with the Vouchers from November 1, 1893, to October 31, 1894, and find them correct, showing the receipts to have been £844. 15s. 2d. (including £304. 11s. transferred from Deposit Account for investment), and the payments (£ also including the sum invested) £862. 6s. 4d., leaving a balance on October 31, 1894, of £182. 19s. 7d. in favour of the Society.

R. DUPPA LLOYD,
J. FOSTER PALMER,
B. F. STEVENS } *Anditors.*

December 18, 1894.

As is the case in many other institutions, the subscriptions have been paid more slowly than usual, causing a slight diminution in the amount received during the past year. But nevertheless during the past year the sum of £304. 11s. has been transferred from the Deposit Account and permanently invested by purchasing £300 stock in Consols.

CAPITAL ACCOUNT.

For the year ending October 31, 1894.

Nov. 1, 1893—Oct. 31, 1894.	£ s. d.	Oct. 31, 1894.	£ s. d.
To Balance brought forward		By £300 2 $\frac{3}{4}$ % Consols	
,, Interest	404 6 0	and Commission	304 11 0
	3 0 9	,, Cash on Deposit at	
		Bankers	102 15 9
	<u>£407 6 9</u>		<u>£407 6 9</u>

R. HOVENDEN, *Treasurer.*

A Stock Receipt for £300 2 $\frac{3}{4}$ % Consols, and a statement from the Society's Bankers, showing that £102. 15s. 9d. was to the credit of the Society on October 31, 1894, were produced to us this 18th day of December, 1894.

R. DUPPA LLOYD,
J. FOSTER PALMER,
B. F. STEVENS, } *Auditors.*

FINANCIAL STATEMENT OF ASSETS AND LIABILITIES.

Oct. 31, 1894.	£ s. d.	Oct. 31, 1894.	£ s. d.
To Balance on Revenue Account	182 19 7	Balance in favour of the Society	280 11 1
,, Outstanding Subscriptions estimated	84 0 0		
,, Balance of Publishers' Account	13 11 6		
,, Copies of Transactions in Stock	—		
	<u>£280 11 1</u>		<u>£280 11 1</u>

R. HOVENDEN,
Treasurer.

Royal Historical Society.

(INCORPORATED BY ROYAL CHARTER.)

PATRON:

HER MAJESTY THE QUEEN.

PRESIDENT:

THE RIGHT HON. SIR M. E. GRANT DUFF, G.C.S.I.

I. The Historical Society was founded in 1868, by the then Archbishop of York, the late Earl Russell, the late George Grote, the late Dean of Westminster, Sir John Lubbock, Bart., the Earl of Selborne (then Sir Roundell Palmer), and other eminent men of the day, its main objects being to promote and foster the study of History, by assisting in the publication of rare and valuable documents, and by the publication from time to time of volumes of Transactions and Publications.

II. In 1872 the Society, through the Secretary of State (The Right Hon. H. A. Bruce, now Lord Aberdare, G.C.B., for many years President of the Society), received the official permission of Her Majesty the Queen to adopt the title Royal Historical Society; and in 1889 Her Majesty was pleased to cause Letters Patent, dated July 31, to be passed under the Great Seal, granting to the Society Her Majesty's Royal Charter of Incorporation.

III. The Society consists of Fellows and Honorary Fellows and Corresponding Members, forming together a body, at the present time, of nearly six hundred Members.

The principal States of Europe and America, British India, and the Colonies are represented by Honorary or Corresponding Fellows.

IV. The Annual Subscription to the Society is *Two Guineas*; and at present there is no entrance fee. Fellows may, on joining the Society, or afterwards, compound for all future subscriptions upon the payment of *Twenty Guineas*.

V. The Fellows of the Society receive gratuitously a copy of each of the Society's Transactions and Publications during the period of their subscription.

The annual Publications of the Society will, in future, include a substantial volume of Transactions containing selected Papers read at the Society's Evening Meetings, together with the most valuable of the original documents which may be communicated to the Society from time to time by historical scholars, the President's Address, and an occasional Summary of the Progress of Historical Research during the past Session. In addition to this, the Council are hopeful of being able to ensure the regular production of a uniform series of Publications dealing with the unpublished State Papers preserved in the national Archives.

The Society is now engaged in the publication of two important volumes, one of which will shortly be issued to the Fellows.

VI. The Meetings of the Society for the reading of Papers and discussions thereon are held in the Theatre of the Museum of Practical Geology, Jermyn Street, from November to June, on the *third Thursday* in each month, at 5. P.M.

VII. The Library of the Society is deposited at

115 St. Martin's Lane, W.C. Donations of Historical books and documents will be received and acknowledged by the Librarian. All parcels should be marked "Royal Historical Society." It is hoped that all Fellows of the Society who publish Historical works will present copies to the Library.

VIII. The Royal Historical Society, being incorporated, is now in a position to receive and benefit by legacies. The means of usefulness of many corporations has been largely increased by the bequests of its members; and it is hoped that the income of the Society may eventually be supplemented from this source.

IX. All literary communications, proposals for Papers to be read before the Society, or Historical documents or relics to be exhibited at the ordinary Meetings, should be addressed to the Director,

HUBERT HALL, F.S.A.

60 Chancery Lane, London, W.C.

All communications respecting the Library should be addressed to the Librarian,

THOMAS MASON, F.R. Hist. S.

115 St. Martin's Lane, London, W.C.

All subscriptions, unless paid by Banker's Order, should be sent to the Treasurer,

R. HOVENDEN, F.S.A.

Heathcote,

Park Hill Road,

Croydon, Surrey.

Communications on all other subjects should be addressed to the Hon. Secretary,

115 St. Martin's Lane, London, W.C.

Royal Historical Society.

(INCORPORATED BY ROYAL CHARTER.)

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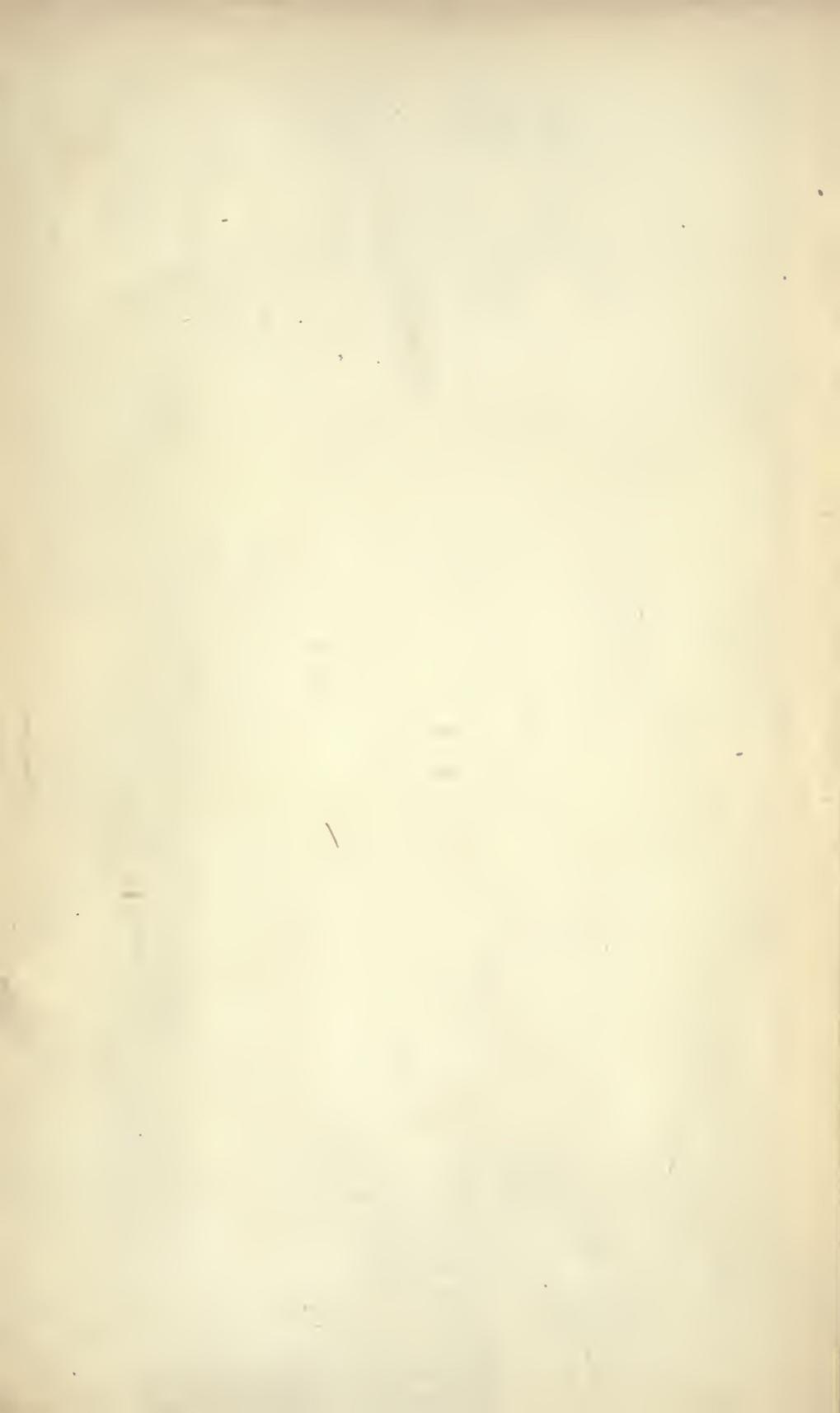
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